This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

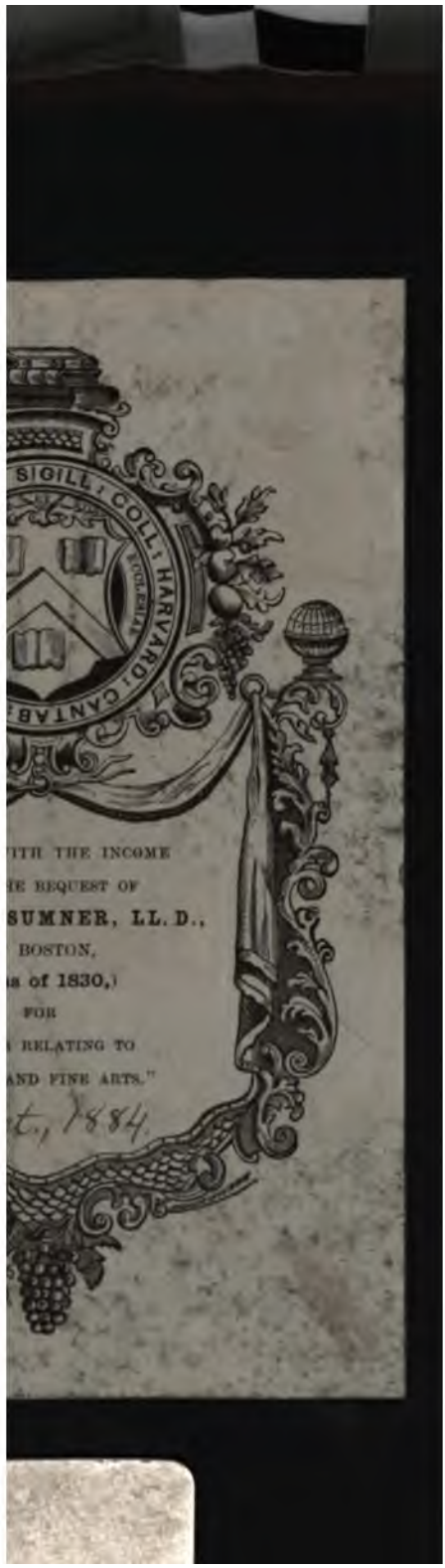
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`


SIGILL: COLL: HARVARD:
ITH THE INCOME
HE BEQUEST OF
SUMNER, LL. D.,
BOSTON,
s of 1830,)
FOR
RELATING TO
AND FINE ARTS."
t., 1884.

OCCASIONAL
PAPERS AND ADDRESSES.

OCCASIONAL

PAPERS AND ADDRESSES.

BY

LORD O'HAGAN, K.P.

LONDON:
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE.
1884.

20-11-12

The rights of Translation and of Reproduction are reserved.

PREFACE.

THE Papers and Addresses contained in this volume have been selected from a larger number, composed, at distant intervals, as the occasions to which they have reference successively arose. They were published separately, from time to time, and are now reprinted in a collective form.

CONTENTS.

	Page
Criminal Law: Punishment and Reformation	7
The Study of Jurisprudence—Roman, English, and Celtic...	47
International Law.—Conference at Antwerp, 1877... ...	91
Economic and Statistical Inquiry	107
Daniel O'Connell	127
Thomas Moore...	163
Samuel Taylor Coleridge	197
Cardinal Newman	241
Charles William Russell, D.D.	247
Henry Grattan	263
Sir Alexander Macdonnell, Bart.	267
Ireland in 1853.—Hopes of Progress	271
The Tralee Election, 1863...	317
Legal, Educational, and Social Reforms in Ireland ...	341
A Literary Institute in Donegal, and its Uses	379

CRIMINAL LAW: PUNISHMENT AND REFORMATION.

Criminal Law: Punishment and Reformation.

[In 1861 the Social Science Association met in Dublin, and the proceedings of its Section on "Punishment and Reformation," were opened by the following Address.]

THROUGHOUT the wide range of social science, I believe that few things can be found of more importance than the subjects to which the attention of this department has been specially directed. They touch the foundations of order, and the security of peace in the world. They affect the protection of property and the sacredness of life. They have the closest relations with the material well-being of communities; and they have higher relations still—with the purity of public morals, and the redemption of multitudes from sin and suffering. More directly than many other of the topics which worthily claim the care of this association, they address at once the intellect and the feelings, and attract equally the statistician and the philanthropist—the statesman, who deals with the interests of nations, and the Christian, whose thoughts are in eternity.

Therefore, I may confidently say, that our peculiar investigations have been and will be especially pleasant and fruitful; and not the less so, I trust, because we pursue them, on this occasion, upon Irish ground. For I may assert, in no boastful spirit, that Ireland has done very much in

aid of the cause which we have all at heart—that efforts have been made, and experiments conducted, and difficulties surmounted, and results achieved, in the management and reformation of criminals amongst us, which have much advanced that cause, and fitly received the praise and excited the emulation of other countries. Of these things I shall have occasion to speak a little, by-and-by, and you will all have the opportunity of verifying any statements which I or others have made, or may make, about them, by observing the actual condition of institutions which, in some respects, are amongst the most remarkable in the empire.

The subjects which our section is invited to discuss are two—Punishment and Reformation—properly connected, and each of great importance; and it is my duty to advert to both. But my own views as to their relative present interest, and the estimate of it which has been indicated by the course of our inquiries since our meeting began, induce me to think that I shall best discharge that duty by glancing briefly at the first, and dwelling more particularly upon the second. And I have come to that conclusion, as well because the Reformatory system of our time is of special novelty, and therefore justifies special attention, and may need, for some, special elucidation; as because the doctrine of punishment and the principles which should regulate its infliction have been largely discussed, and may be taken now to be tolerably settled and generally agreed upon, amongst mankind.

Unfortunately, for long generations, that doctrine and those principles were very much misunderstood. Extreme severity was regarded as the best, if not the only, agent for the repression of offences. Men forgot the wise maxim, "*Præstat cautela quam medela,*" and made their laws merely

vindictive, in disregard of the benefits of prevention, and in disbelief of the possibility and value of reformation. Our own statutes were mischievously cruel, and our gaols were nurseries of crime. In these respects, we had a bad eminence amongst the nations of the earth. The evil doctrine, that criminal legislation should only labour to make punishment deterrent, pervaded the codes of Europe, and had sanguinary issues in our own. *Ense recidendum!* was the key note of them all. The ancient legislator thought death merely an adequate punishment for the smallest offence, and knew no greater for the gravest; and very much upon that savage theory did the English law proceed. There was no consideration for the individual criminal—no memory of his claim to it, as a responsible creature with an immortal soul—no thought of his value as a member of society, who might be utilised, if he was not destroyed. That law had more tenderness for the right of property than for the right of life—guarded it more jealously—estimated it more dearly. Hence, for a lengthened period, grievous barbarities characterised the action of our tribunals. The accused and the convicted were treated equally with excessive harshness; and the scaffold groaned with the multitudes who were sent prematurely to their account—people of both sexes and of every age—for offences, often, of the most trivial character. Lord Coke, as certain incidents in the State Trials demonstrate, was not a man of very delicate emotions, or much given to "the melting mood." Yet he exclaims in his Third Institute:—"What a lamentable case it is, to see so many Christian men and women strangled on that accursed tree of the gallows; insomuch, that if a man might see together the Christians that but in one year, throughout England, come to that untimely and ignominious death, if there were any spark of grace or charity in him, it would

make his heart to bleed with pity and compassion." The softening of manners and the progress of civilisation led, by degrees, to a continually increasing diminution of this annual butchery, but the code which authorised it remained, with too little mitigation or amendment, down even to our own time.

Opinion mastered law, and the humanity of jurors, sometimes at the cost of paltering with their legal duty and their oaths, refused the wholesale sacrifice of their fellow men. But, within the memory of many of us, the supreme penalty of death struck equally the parricide and the starving wretch who committed a larceny of five shillings. Even in the eighteenth century, the Legislature made capital the breach of the mound of a fishpond, the cutting down of a cherry-tree in an orchard, and other offences of no greater seriousness. In that century, a child eleven years old was executed for witchcraft; a man, for refusing to plead, was pressed to death in the market-place of Kilkenny; and towards the close of it, in 1788, we have the record of the condemnation to death by fire, and the actual execution, of a woman, before Newgate, for the offence of coining. Horrors of this kind might be multiplied to any extent, but I shall not sicken you by a repetition of them.

In vain, for many a year, the doctrine of Beccaria, that "crimes are more effectually prevented by the certainty than by the severity of punishment," was urged upon the Legislature. In vain was the appeal to the teaching of a sad experience, to the wisdom of the statesman, and the mercy of the Christian. Parliament, under high guidance, stood upon the ancient ways, and the slightest departure from the barbarism of its traditional policy was denounced as full of danger to society, and injury to the Constitution of the realm. By slow degrees, however, the barriers of

prejudice and ignorance were beaten down. Earnest and faithful men arose to assail them; and, in the face of frequent defeat and deep discouragement, their mission was bravely pursued, until, at last, the truth manifested its always prevailing power. The results have disappointed the gloomy anticipations of the prophets of evil, and verified the promises of those who denied that sanguinary laws were essential to the maintenance of the social system. Commerce is not ruined because the forger escapes the gallows, and the householder has less fear of burglary than in the days when it was a capital offence. What sound theory and some experience led wise men to expect has come to pass. The certainty of punishment has increased, in proportion to the diminution of its extravagant severity. Public sentiment approves the vigorous administration of the law, which formerly revolted it by inflictions, terrible in themselves, and out of all proportion with the offences to which they were applied. Prosecutors are not deterred from entering criminal courts by fear of becoming the agents of cruelty and injustice; and jurors do not shrink from conviction because of penal consequences outraging their reason and shocking their moral sense. Crime, therefore, does not go unpunished, and its diminution has been great. Executions have grown rare. In this city, there has not been a single one, since 1842; yet property is incomparably more secure and life less endangered, than at any period to which it is possible to point.

The last penalty is now enforced only against the shedder of human blood; and, even as to him, thinkers raise the question—Whether the time may not come, when secondary punishment may be found universally sufficient for the protection of society—as effective as that which, destroying the life of man, puts out of account one of the great objects of

penal infliction—the reformation of the offender—in consideration of the necessity of repressing crime by the dread example of his death? That there resides in every community the right of self-preservation, to be exercised even at the expense of the destruction of those whose acts endanger its essential well-being, not many will be found to dispute; but, on the other hand, fewer than at most former times will contend that there is any moral or religious necessity to make man answer with his own life for that which he has taken, unless the exigencies of the State require the sacrifice. Whether they do require it is, indeed, a subject of momentous import; or whether, consistently with their requisitions, which are plainly paramount, consideration may not be fairly given to the importance of avoiding, if possible, an act which is irrevocable, and may be erroneous —which has sometimes stricken down the innocent, designing to reach the guilty—which involves the earthly annihilation of a creature bearing the image of God, however distorted by passion or deformed by sin, deprives him of all opportunity of compensation to those who have suffered through his crime, and shortens the period of his preparation to meet his Eternal Judge? Thoughts like these have passed through many minds, and will arise in many more. They are not without encouragement from the course and the results of modern penal legislation, or without countenance from striking passages in the history of other lands.

But, be the solution of this great problem what it may, we have gathered from the experience of the past some truths as to the theory of punishment, which have received very general acceptance. And amongst them, I think, are these:—

That, for practical purposes, human law should deal with crime, not to avenge, but to prevent, and to reform;

That merely vindictive and repressive action often defeats its own purpose, and increases the mischief it would do away;

That severity, disproportioned to the character of offences, and pressed beyond the point at which it may suffice to check by example, and restrain from repetition, is at once unnecessary and injurious;

That the justice of human punishment is bounded by its necessity; and while the wise legislator should labour to make it fall with certainty on guilt, and carry it out with unflinching firmness, he should reconcile, so far as may be permitted, the claims of the community to complete protection against crime, with the reformation of the convict, and make that reformation, where he can, the aid and the instrument for securing that protection.

And these considerations lead me naturally from one division of the labours of our section to another. Heretofore, I have dealt briefly with the history and doctrine of Punishment; I turn to the scheme and principle of the Reformatory movement, which has been one of the most signal illustrations of social progress in our time. It is a time full of material wonders. Almost every year produces something stranger than the last, and imagination halts behind reality. Physical science annihilates space and time. Thought flashes instantaneously from continent to continent; and distant nations are brought into that closeness of neighbourhood, which, by identifying their interests and dispelling their prejudices, must needs continually, more and more, consolidate, in spite of every obstacle, their happy union for their mutual benefit. But I venture to doubt whether, amongst all these mighty changes—so astounding in their grandeur, so bewildering in the rapidity with which they have been wrought—there is anything more full of interest and true delight to the

lover of his kind than in this quiet movement, which has its dealings amongst the outcasts of the earth, and its noiseless triumphs within prison bars.

In these countries, the changes of which I have spoken had been accomplished, and, in others, similar results had been attained. Howard had not vainly "cast his bread upon the waters." His great apostleship of charity did not end with himself, and the penal system of this empire and of Europe had been much improved. Classification and order, though they are still very imperfect here and elsewhere, had been introduced largely and beneficially amongst convicts in most civilised lands. But this was not sufficient —did not seem at all sufficient to many, who thought that it was right to regard their ultimate destiny, after the time of their imprisonment had passed. Such persons looked abroad upon the prison world, and they marked some things which were very notable. They saw that, in general, human law made no distinction between the crime of the child and of the adult; that the innocence which had been defiled by a single error, the growth of temptation or necessity acting on an infant's unformed mind and feeble purpose, was dealt with, too often, as the crime of the hoary ruffian, stained with many infamies, and hardened in his sins. They saw the juvenile offender passing, perhaps, from an honest home to a felon's gaol, corrupted by contact with its abandoned inmates, graduating through all the stages of immorality, and then sent forth to prey upon his kind. And, seeing these things, they saw that it should be otherwise; that the child's crime was not the man's crime, or to be dealt with, as if it were; that their different conditions of intellect and morals called for different treatment, and that the system which made the man's prison also the child's was often responsible for steeping him in iniquity, and robbing him of hope here and happiness hereafter. Further, they saw that the traditional

and settled discipline of the gaol, modified though it had been, made no sufficient provision for the moral culture of the criminal—no preparation for his transfer to the world, in a condition fitting him to take his place amongst men, as a useful and prosperous citizen—no training which might fit him to walk forth, self-relying and self-dependent, without new contamination from his former comrades, and certain return to the evil courses from which the coercive power of the law had withheld him for a time. And, finally, they saw that, equally in the cases of the child and the adult, imprisonment involved loss of character and caste; involved, in multitudinous instances, loss of the means of an honourable livelihood; deprived the unhappy convict, even if disposed to return to a better state, of the opportunity of redemption, in the aid of friends, or the confidence of employers; and drove him, in utter and despairing helplessness, very often to lead a life of wickedness, and, sometimes, to die a death of shame.

Observations such as these, occurring to persons of generous nature and clear intellect, bore fruit in time; and we have seen that fruit developed in institutions of rare excellence—Reformatories for the young, Intermediate Prisons for adults, and Patronage Associations, Refuges, and Aid Societies for prisoners disposed to amend their lives. To each of these subdivisions, constituting together, I conceive, the Reformatory System, which tends to give a special character to the criminal jurisprudence and administration of our age, I propose, in a few words, to invite your attention—not with any effort of reasoning or elaborateness of detail, for these may well be left to the able men who have instructed the section by papers on special subjects; but, mainly, that I may indicate how remarkable has been its success in Ireland, and how strongly that success should encourage further effort to push it to still more effective issues.

Let me say, in the first instance, that the moral state of this country, as it is demonstrated by the condition of our gaols and the proceedings of our criminal tribunals, furnishes ground for congratulation and hopefulness. Formerly, the crime of Ireland was heavy in amount and serious in character. Even then, there were too many found, at home and abroad, to exaggerate its enormity; but, unquestionably, it thronged the prison and crowded the convict-ship and sent many to the scaffold. Now, the judges are enabled to speak, with a happy unanimity, to the unwonted absence of grave violations of the law. At the assizes which have lately terminated, they were very often, and in many counties, without occupation in the trial of prisoners; and, everywhere throughout the island, they found peace and order, obedience to authority, and security for the possessions and persons of the people. And this is no accidental or abnormal condition of affairs. The improvement has been gradual, steadily progressive, and, therefore, likely to be permanent. The late report of the Inspectors-General of Prisons shows, by very clear statistics, that, year by year, for a long period past, the number of criminals has been steadily diminishing, until that number, which, in 1850, amounted, throughout our gaols, to 10,967, has dwindled, in 1861, to 2,488. In 1822, there were 101 executions in Ireland; in 1861, I know of only a single conviction for a capital offence. This moral revolution is as remarkable as it is gratifying; and we may confidently say to our distinguished visitors from the Continent and Great Britain, that, though we have our weaknesses, our follies, and our faults, they will find amongst us now, not only the religious earnestness and the domestic purity, which were never wanting in the worst days of the past to vindicate for us something of the traditional fame of our Nation as the *Insula Sanctorum*,

but, also, an absence of crimes of fraud or violence, which it will not be easy to parallel in any country of the world.

But, passing from this glance at our general state, let me speak shortly of those efforts in the reformatory cause which have aided in making it, for the time, so fortunate and happy. And first, of the reformation of the young—a thing much to be regarded, whether we consider the facility for making it effectual, which arises from tenderness of age and susceptibility of good impressions; or the advantages it offers to society, in penetrating to the springs of crime and cutting off the supply of criminals. In this department of social progress, as in many others, we must acknowledge a large debt of obligation to our Continental neighbours. They led the way, set the example and indicated the course which might be followed with advantage. In France, in Belgium, in Germany, and in Prussia, at no very distant time, good men and holy women began the charitable work, and established institutions of which, to an audience so informed as this, it would be idle to attempt minute description. But one of them eminently attracted notice throughout Europe, and had, I believe, very special influence as an exemplar and encouragement in England. It was commenced at Mettrai, by a man who abandoned the dignity and emoluments of a judicial position to dwell with the young criminals of his country, and labour unceasingly for their redemption. In the noblest spirit of self-sacrifice, M. de Metz dedicated his life to this labour of love. He found the way to the hearts of thousands who, but for him, would have grown up in vice and misery; and gave them back to the nation which, but for him, also, they would have continued to disgrace—virtuous men, and loyal and productive citizens. They obtained private employment and public office; they thronged into the army and navy of

France; and I remember how pleasant it was to see, at Mettrai, the memento of the visit of one of its former colonists, who returned, after years of successful struggle, to show proudly to his youthful successors the cross of the Legion of Honour, glittering upon the breast which had once been covered with the uniform of the child of crime. The success of this noble institution for a long series of years has been uninterrupted, save for a short period, at a time of political convulsion; and we have all heard, with great gratification, from a paper of the highest interest, communicated to the section by Miss Hill, that its efficiency and means of usefulness are at this moment greater than they ever were. She states a very assuring fact: that, of 1,646 young criminals subjected to its discipline, and restored to liberty, only eighty-five returned to crime; or, as the French Minister of Police has shown, 5·43 per cent. of the whole. Ninety-five other youths, for various sufficient causes, were removed from the colony.

In England, a good many years ago, similar undertakings, with a similar object, were attempted by private benevolence. They had much success. They got earnest support from many generous hearts and able intellects; and some of those who have honoured our meeting with their presence—Miss Carpenter, the learned Recorder of Birmingham, and Mr. Baker, my most efficient colleague, who has so often, during this meeting, given us the great assistance of his clear judgment and large experience—laboured, as they labour still, in season and out of season, to promote the interests of a cause with which their names will for ever be identified in gratitude and honour. But private benevolence needed the aid of law, and at last, after some difficulty, the Juvenile Reformatory Act was passed for England (the 17 & 18 Vict., cap. 86), which did not recognise reformatories as purely State institutions, but

afforded them, upon their establishment by voluntary contribution, legal power of control, pecuniary aid, and government inspection. How well that Act, although in some respects, perhaps, imperfect and needing change, has worked in England, there are many here who can tell with knowledge and authority to which I cannot pretend. But I may state that the diminution of juvenile crime in that country is very remarkable, indeed. In 1856, 11,808 English and Welsh boys were committed; in 1860, the number had diminished to 6,765; in 1156 the committals of English and Welsh girls were 2,308; in 1860 they were 1,269. And it has been stated to us, on high authority, that the beginning of the decrease, in the various districts, towns and counties, has generally been contemporaneous with the commencement of reformatory action on their populations. The effect has also been to weed away the youthful criminals most thoroughly trained and most competent to lead others into error. Mr. Baker instituted an inquiry very lately, in the Coldbath Fields district of London, with the assistance of the justices, and the results were these:—that an average of 350 boys had been reduced to an average of 89; that, whilst about a fourth of the 350 used to be boys who had been several times convicted, and were adepts in crime, there were only ten such under sixteen, or one-eighth of the number, in custody at the time of the examination; and that of the 300 persons last committed, there were only 42 who had been in the prison before—some 14 per cent., instead of the former average of 50 per cent. And that this individual instance not unfairly represents the general working of the English reformatory system has been demonstrated to us, in the course of this meeting, by the most conclusive testimony as to other districts of England.

The Irish Reformatory Act was framed on the model of

the English, some time after it had come into operation. Like the English statute, it does not aim to establish reformatory schools, but to sustain, and make them effective, when individual effort has called them into being. It gives to the managers the same means of restraint and detention, the same claim to assistance from the Treasury, the same right and benefit of inspection, and the same power of enforcing the wholesome principle of Parental Responsibility, which casts upon the father, whose evil example or culpable neglect has produced the immorality of his child, the necessity of contributing to its maintenance, according to his ability. In one respect only does it differ in substance from the English statute, by expressly requiring, that the inmates of each reformatory shall be under the control of persons of the same religious persuasion as their parents or guardians respectively. That difference was introduced upon full deliberation, and with the entire concurrence of men of various creeds and parties, in and out of Parliament, who took part in the promotion of the measure. It had some regard to the peculiar condition of things in Ireland, and the manifest difficulty, if not the total impossibility, of working such establishments here upon any other principle. But it had a broader ground, and a higher justification. It proceeded on the belief that, for the reformation of the youthful convict, the influence of religion was absolutely essential; and that the exercise of that influence, in the permanent association and the family life of the Reformatory, could not be satisfactory or complete, if jarring controversies or various forms of worship found entrance there. That belief was warranted by sound theory, and confirmed by a very wide experience. Before the Act was passed, I occupied a portion of a long vacation in visiting many of the prisons and most of the reformatories in Continental countries, and I sought to

ascertain the opinion of the best and the wisest, connected with them, on this subject. I found it everywhere the same—at Mettrai and at Saint Foix, at Bordeaux and Berne, at Ruysellede and Strasburg. The same answer was given to the interrogatory by the Catholic priest and the Calvinistic minister—by the Sister of Charity in France and the Protestant Deaconess in Prussia. Universally, they said that, for reformation, they needed religion above everything—religion, as in the life of the family—religion, in all its saving integrity and unbroken power; and that, therefore, they needed separate establishments for the children of their respective communions. And, in fact, it was so. Though, at Mettrai, de Metz was associated in his great work with a most excellent man, who lived and died a Protestant, Mettrai had no Protestant colonist; and I had to go far into the South to find the Protestant institution at Saint Foix, conducted almost exactly on the system of Mettrai, under the control of M. le Pasteur Martin, a Protestant clergyman, who received only Protestant inmates, and held the separation absolutely necessary for the useful effect of the teaching to which he and his lady had dedicated their lives. And in England, practically, the Protestant and the Catholic reformatories are equally the objects of the bounty of the Treasury—standing apart, that each may do its blessed task more surely; but combining in the accomplishment of the great result, which empties the prison, and gives honest workmen to the community and law-respecting subjects to the State. And it has been very agreeable to hear from men like the Rev. Mr. Fish and Mr. Baker, that the schools, so constituted, go on harmoniously, and that the Protestant manager and the Catholic have generally the best and most cordial relations, each acting honestly and exclusively for the benefit of the children of his own faith, and avoiding interference with any others.

The Irish Act has been worked, on all sides, with great energy and remarkable success. The various sections of the community have contributed for this purpose very liberally; but not so liberally as they would have done if they had had a full appreciation of the advantages, social, moral and economical, which reformatories, rightly conducted, must secure to them. The Grand Jury of the county of Dublin and the Corporation of the city were prompt to use the powers entrusted to them by the Act in the most generous spirit; and, though their example has not been followed by similar bodies, as widely as might be desired, in aiding schools already opened or creating others, I have not the least doubt that, when they come to be familiar with the great advantages which those schools hold forth to every district of the kingdom, they will emulate the example which has been set in Dublin. The Catholic institution at Glencree, under the able presidency of the Rev. Mr. Lynch, was opened in the year 1859, and, since that time, eight others have been established in the Metropolis, in Cork, Belfast, Limerick, and Monaghan. Three of these are Protestant Reformatories, and the residue Roman Catholic — the Catholic population, from its great extent, furnishing, of necessity, by far the larger number of persons requiring reformatory care. The beneficial operation of the system in Ireland must, of course, require time for its development, and we have yet had scant opportunity of judging what that development may ultimately be. But, already, the indications are in the highest degree encouraging. Comparing the years 1858 and 1859, we find the reduction of the number of juvenile committals to have been very great—30¾ per cent. less for boys, and, for girls, 9½ per cent. in the latter year, than in the former. And on a comparison of 1859 with 1860, the committals show a

reduction of 13 per cent. as to the boys, and 11 per cent. as to the girls. These results appear to me to tend to the conclusion, that the action of the system, although still only in its infancy, is vigorous and healthy; and I have to add another statement which is scarcely of a less gratifying nature.

The principle of Parental Responsibility has had effect in Ireland, even beyond reasonable expectation. It was not supposed, by those who most highly estimated its value, that it could be of much avail amongst us, regard being had to the poverty of the classes, which must supply the occupants of our juvenile reformatories. And, certainly, the efficiency for good of such establishments, or rather the avoidance of one main peril to which many have believed them liable, must depend, in a large degree, on the enforcement of this salutary principle. Its importance consists, not only in the influence which it must exert upon parents, whom fear of compelled contribution to the support of children in a Reformatory may incline, in the absence of higher motives, to a greater care of their education and conduct, so that such a burden may be escaped; but, also, in the prevention of the danger,—sometimes exaggerated, but certainly not to be ignored, and requiring to have every legitimate caution provided against it—of such parents seeking to cast on the community and the State the maintenance of their own offspring. I am very glad to be enabled to say that, since the opening of the Irish Reformatories, a sum of nearly £300 has been recovered from the parents of their inmates. And this sum, though apparently small, is really considerable, when we remember the shortness of the period of their existence, the comparatively small number yet committed to them, and the further fact that, in 1859 and 1860, 60 per cent. of the children, convicted in Ireland, are reported to have been

orphans, or to have lost either father or mother, and so to have been in the exact condition in which it became a special duty and a plain economy for the State to aid in snatching them from a life of crime. It is a pleasant surprise to find this valuable agent of the system of so much practical influence in this country, and likely to be of so much more in the probable future, when its machinery, from use, will come into more effective action.

Whilst we have thus great reason for congratulation in the prosperity which, so far, has waited on all our reformatory schools, we may anticipate a much larger measure of it when experience shall afford a more general knowledge of their utility, and those who have to deal judicially with criminal children shall become more familiar with the rules of procedure, by which they may be worked to the best advantage. Two things I take leave to note, which I regard as of practical and pressing importance. In the first place, when a child is found to be a fit subject for moral treatment in a Reformatory, it is absolutely necessary that he should be subjected to it for a long period, in order to the production of any permanently beneficial result. He either ought not to go to the school at all, or he ought to go for such a period. The object of the treatment is to conquer his habits of evil, and train him in the ways of virtuous industry,—to separate him definitively from connexion with his associates in crime,—to take from him the desire and the tendency to herd with them again,—and so to discipline him that he may go back into the world with some settled principle and some steady purpose, and be prepared to "walk undefiled in the tabernacles of corruption." To accomplish these changes, time, and a considerable time, is manifestly essential, and all, without exception, who have given intelligent attention to the subject, concur in believing that short sentences, in

the majority of cases, are useless and pernicious. They may be lengthened, without apprehension of mischief, as the Act provides the means for the abridgment of them, should the conduct and circumstances of the child make his liberation, before the completion of their appointed periods, desirable and safe. In this respect, there is danger of error, from the spirit of leniency in the administration of the criminal law, which has grown so strong in latter times, and works evil sometimes only less to be deplored than the harshness we condemn in the times that are gone. It is as much the duty of a judge to be sternly resolute in the infliction of necessary pain, as it is his duty to decline the infliction of any which is not necessary; and, especially, where the object is not so much to punish, as to redeem, there should be no hesitation in pronouncing a sentence adequate to the accomplishment of that great purpose. The sentence, whose briefness deprives the child of the full advantage of reformatory influences, is to him a cruelty and not a mercy.

The second practical observation I desire to make is this, that judicial persons, having a great discretion vested in them by the Legislature in the matter with which we deal, have corresponding responsibility, which should make them careful in the selection of the children whom they consign to Reformatories. Every child who comes under the ban of the law ought not to be sent to them. First offences rarely justify such a course, and very rarely when they are trivial; and, in all cases, great vigilance should be used in ascertaining, so far as may be possible, that the young offender is really under the age fixed by the statute, and that he is not affected by such physical disease or extraordinary moral depravity, as may render him a fitter inmate of the hospital or the convict-prison. I know, perfectly well, how very difficult it may be to act on such a

suggestion—how impossible it is that mistakes should not occur—but the subject is worthy of attention; especially as I learn that within the last two years several young persons, sentenced for various periods to our reformatories, have not obtained admission to them, some having been beyond the age prescribed, and, therefore, not legally detainable; and others having been, for reasons such as I have indicated, held inadmissible by the managers. Occurrences of this kind should be avoided with anxious care, for they are full of mischief to the individuals excluded, and to the whole community.

But though, for a time, there must be errors and shortcomings in the administration of this novel statute, they have not been at all more numerous than might have been anticipated. Magistrates have, generally, been cautious in their judgments; and I do not find that the managers of the schools are in any case obnoxious to blame for the exercise of the authority, necessarily reposed in them, to which I have alluded. Such things will diminish as time runs on; and the Act, under God's blessing, will realise the highest hopes of its most sanguine advocates.

Ireland has always appeared to me to afford peculiar facilities for its beneficent action. The spirit of our people is ductile and impressible. They are keenly alive to the appeal of kindness; capable of appreciating justice, even when it bears hard upon them; and universally susceptible of the influences of religion. They have little of hardened, ingrained, hereditary guilt; and there never has existed amongst them a very large class of trained and professional criminals. In such a state of things, the reformatory principle, energetically and wisely worked upon the young must have special chances of success; and when we remember what I have stated as to its operation upon the youth of France, and learn from Mr. Turner's recent

report that, of 1,000 boys discharged in England, 600 are known to be doing well, and less than 120 have been again convicted, we may anticipate progress at least as gratifying, in this country, when the same saving power shall have been as long in operation here, under conditions certainly quite as favourable, as in France or England. It will amply reward the bounty of individuals in establishing Reformatories, and of public bodies and the State in contributing freely to their maintenance.

Passing from this reference to the treatment of juvenile crime, I had intended to speak, at some length, of the systems which have prevailed in our prisons for adults; but that subject has already been dealt with so ably and so exhaustively in this department, that many of the observations I was disposed to make would be superfluous, especially to those who have been present at our most satisfactory and most harmonious meetings. To those who were not, I may say, summarily, that the questions as to secondary punishment, which have been always among the most difficult of all which engage the attention of the jurist and the statesman, became peculiarly embarrassing in these countries on the abolition of transportation, partially in 1853, and absolutely, I may say, in 1857. That abolition was warranted by abundant reason, and at last made unavoidable by the resolution of various colonies to refuse the further admission of convicts. Penal servitude—confinement in prisons at home, with hard labour—became the substitute, and the problem was, how it could best be applied with a view to the great objects of punishment, the prevention of crime, and the reformation of offenders. The new necessity compelled, and still compels, attention to this problem, which had never been afforded in times when the compendious process of wholesale execution saved trouble as to the worldly future of the criminal, or when

his removal to the antipodes relieved us from his presence, and all care about him. As to the English system of convict prisons, and tickets-of-leave, and its merits in comparison with that which has happily been established in Ireland during the last seven years, there has been some controversy, which must issue, as all free and fair discussion amongst good men issues, in the discovery of the truth and the advancement of the public interests. We have had the high authority of the Recorder of Birmingham for the statement, that the English system has been a great improvement on all that had preceded it. But, speaking here in no controversial spirit, and venturing only to judge of that which, from its inception, and through all the stages of its progress, has come much under my own observation, I may say, with confidence, that the Irish Convict Prisons have been managed with great ability and eminent success; and that the system which has grown up under my distinguished friend, Captain Crofton, and his able colleagues, both as to the principles on which it has proceeded, and the results it has attained, is entitled to the applause it has received, and the consideration it has commanded from thoughtful men throughout the empire and the world.

The establishment of that system has been prompted by an inspiring faith in the capability of human beings, although stained with crime, to be won back to virtue. Before our own time, that faith had found little acceptance amongst publicists and legislators, and, even yet, it is repudiated by some leaders of opinion, and many whom we encounter in social life. And, of course, it is to be taken with reasonable limits and qualifications; for there are moral incurables, as there are men and women whom physical disease has put beyond the aid of the healing art. I was much struck by a statement of the Rev. Mr. Fish, whose great experience and vigorous intelligence have so

much aided us in our labours, when he said, on Thursday, that, after long familiarity and large acquaintance with them, he believed some three or four per cent. of English juvenile offenders to be incorrigible. There may be such a proportion, or, probably, a larger proportion of adult incorrigibles, also. But, in general, the faith is sound and true, that the majority of prisoners, properly dealt with, are certainly reformable. And those who founded the Irish system had the further faith, that they are reformable through the same machinery of motives, attractive and deterring, applied to their peculiar state, which governs the conduct of their happier brethren. Its whole aim and object has been, acting on that faith, to apply those motives—sternly, but kindly—with careful adaptation to particular cases, but with steady adherence to certain great rules of action,—dealing with convicts, not as a chaotic mass of criminal mortality, but as men, having the peculiarities which distinguish one man from another, and to be swayed and moulded, like other men, by personal influence and individual care.

I pause to note the fact, that the very system which has now been established in Ireland was shadowed forth, more than a hundred years ago, by a great Irishman, who anticipated our progress, and pointed out the path it should pursue. Most of us have been familiar, at some period of our lives, with the good Dr. Primrose in Oliver Goldsmith's famous tale. And some of you may remember how, when he was cast into prison by the Squire, and found it, as prisons then generally were, full of vice, and brutality, and vile disorder, he set himself to improve the occasion, and essay the seemingly hopeless task of amending the unhappy inmates; and how, when his family received the announcement of his purpose with "universal disapprobation,"—as many would still receive the announcement of such a

purpose, under such circumstances—"alleging the impossibility and impropriety of it; and adding, that his endeavours would in no way contribute to their amendment, but might possibly disgrace his own calling,"—his answer was:—"These people, however fallen, are still men, and that is a very good title to my affections. Good counsel rejected returns to enrich the giver's bosom; and, though the instruction I communicate may not mend them, it will assuredly mend myself. If these wretches were princes, there would be thousands ready to offer their ministry; but, in my opinion, the heart that is buried in a dungeon is as precious as that which is seated on a throne. . . . If I can mend them, I will. Perhaps they will not all despise me. Perhaps, I may catch up even one from the gulf, and that will be great gain; for is there, upon earth, a gem so precious as the human soul?" As he spoke, he acted; and he tells us, how the criminals with whom he dwelt were mastered by his gentle wisdom and Christian firmness; and how, when some had become penitent and all attentive, he tried to change their habits of evil by getting them a little profitable employment and enabling them to earn some trifling wages; and how he then addressed their susceptibilities of hope and fear, and instituted fines for immorality, and rewards for industry; and how, at last, he formed them into "something social and humane." And then the simple man goes on to speculate:—"And it were highly to be wished, that legislative power would direct the law rather to reformation than to severity; that it would soon be convinced that the work of eradicating crimes is not by making punishments familiar, but formidable. Then, instead of our present prisons, which find or make men guilty: which enclose wretches for the commission of one crime, and return them, if returned alive, fitted for the perpetration of thousands;

it were to be wished we had, as in other parts of Europe, places of penitence and solitude, where the accused might be attended by such as would give them repentance, if guilty, or new motives to virtue, if innocent. And this, but not the increasing punishment, is the way to mend a state. . . . . It were to be wished that power, instead of contriving new laws to punish vice—instead of drawing hard the cords of society till a convulsion come to burst them—instead of cutting away wretches as useless before we have tried their utility—instead of converting correction into vengeance—it were to be wished that we tried the restrictive acts of government, and made law the protector and not the tyrant of the people. We should then find that creatures whose souls are held as dross, only wanted the hand of a refiner. We should find that wretches now stuck up for long tortures, lest luxury should feel a momentary pang, might, if properly treated, serve to sinew the state in times of danger; that, as their faces are like ours, their hearts are so too; that few minds are so base as that perseverance cannot amend; that a man may see his last crime without dying for it, and that very little blood will serve to cement our security." I recal your recollection to these pregnant passages, partly because they may attach something of local interest to speculations and discussions such as ours, in the country of a man who, so long ago, when our laws were written in blood, and still barbarously executed—when our gaols were earthly Pandemoniums, in which all hope was excluded, all virtue mocked at and all reformation unknown—was enabled, with the instinct of genius, quickened by the benevolence of a kindly and gentle heart, to proclaim this beautiful gospel of humanity. Honour to Oliver Goldsmith! And when we shall come to pay him the homage too long delayed, and his statue, which is in preparation,—on the suggestion of

our accomplished and beneficent Viceroy,* who in this, as in so many other things, has proved himself *Ipsis Hibernis Hibernior*,—shall be raised in the centre of our metropolis, let us remember him, not merely as the sweet poet, the accomplished dramatist, the genial painter of the nature and life of man, but, also, as one who preached remission to the captive, recognised in the criminal the fallen child of God, and sought to bring him comfort, in the desolation and despair to which he had been utterly abandoned! And I have also produced these passages as containing intimations of almost every improvement, in the matters on which they touch, which can be boasted by the active philanthropy of our time; and because the system begun amongst us, in 1856, will not be less valued by the Irish people, or the world, for carrying into effect the great principles which Oliver Goldsmith announced, a century before, to deaf ears and stony hearts.

Throughout the whole prison life of the convict, principles like these regulate his treatment. He enters Mountjoy prison, and he has there to undergo the hard discipline of cellular incarceration. He works alone; not often visited by any one, and with ample opportunity for meditation and repentance, during the nine months of his probationary state. But, he is allowed to have hope of the future, and hope to be realised by himself. The shortening of the period of his separation depends on his good conduct; and he knows that, when it shall have ended, he will have still further opportunity of improving his condition by his own endeavours. This expectation produces its natural result in his quiet and orderly demeanour, and his obedience to authority; and, in most instances, the period of his cellular confinement is accordingly abridged.

* Lord Carlisle.

Then, he passes to Spike Island or Philipstown, where he labours in association with others, under the strictest surveillance, and where continuing good behaviour enables him to rise from class to class, gaining, all the while, something for himself from the fruit of his toil, until he becomes fit for an intermediate prison, where he has more of freedom and a larger share of his own earnings, and where the same stimulating and sustaining influence of hope still operates upon him. By his own efforts, he can lay up a little store for the day of liberation; and, by his own efforts, too, he can quicken the coming of that happy day. If he will so act as to obtain good marks, it is hastened; if he fails to obtain them, it is postponed. Then, during the period of his detention in the intermediate prison, he has, in a larger degree, the benefit of intellectual and moral culture, which has been offered to him continually,—with the higher blessing of the religious care of a zealous and instructed chaplain,—from the commencement of his imprisonment. A lecturer—a gentleman very competent and very devoted to his duty—addresses to him plain speech on subjects calculated to arouse his interest and awaken his faculties, delivered simply, and in words within the range of his comprehension. And, when years have thus gone by, and the prisoner has profitably passed through all the stages of trial and improvement—when his relations with the wickedness of the outer world have been broken, and he has become inured to the ways of penitence and peace—when he has acquired knowledge, suitable to his condition, from the schoolmaster and the lecturer, and moral and religious principles from the minister of God—when he has formed the habit of honest labour, and learned to taste the sweetness of its reward—when he has gathered a little capital, hardly earned, and greatly valued, which may sustain him when he passes beyond the prison gate,

—he is, in general, enabled to obtain his discharge, conditionally, before the period of his sentence is complete. And, in very many cases, as a part of his final probation, he is employed, at large, in this city and its neighbourhood, on such service as the convict directors deem suitable for him, or at Lusk, where you will see him discharging the ordinary duties of an agricultural labourer, without enclosure or confinement of any kind. And it is found that he can be so trusted safely, and that neither the city messenger nor the Lusk workman ever dreams of escaping from a control which has no apparatus of bolts and bars to make it effectual. And so, the man passes from the prison to his place in society—not his old place, but a higher and a better. He does not make the passage abruptly, or without reasonable preparation. He has been fitted for it, by exchanging cellular separation for associate labour; and this, for the greater freedom and enlarged privileges of the intermediate prison; and this, again, very often, for actual liberty, before he can claim that liberty as a right. And, even when he can so claim it, the guardianship which has directed him, for years, does not at once abandon him to his own devices. Generally, he obtains his liberation, as the recompense of meritorious conduct, before the expiration of his sentence; and the liberation is conditional, subject to be ended if he falls again. For a time, he is under the eye of authority, and finds confirmation of his good purposes in the checks which its supervision puts upon him, and the apprehension of the evil consequences of a return to crime.

But, more than this, the continuing guardianship is not all repressive and minacious. To the liberated convict, it is a protection against the influence of those who would lure him back to vice, and gives him a shield against many mischiefs and many misconceptions, which would be entailed by his tainted character, if he had not the oppor-

tunity of appeal to the officers of justice as to his changed life and renewed trustworthiness. Besides, effort has been made, and made with extraordinary success, to help the prisoner to employment on his discharge. Agriculturists and traders have been sought and found, ready to accept his services. When the system was first established, and for a long time afterwards, there was, of course, unwillingness to do anything of the kind. Those who have never fallen do not like contact with the criminal; and the indisposition to put him in a place of trust is very natural, indeed. But, some good people were got to try the experiment, and it was found safe and profitable, as it was full of charity. The workmen were as true and as useful, as those who had never passed under the dishonouring shadow of the prison wall. And I am assured by Mr. Organ, whose services in this matter have been most praiseworthy and effective, that employers seek voluntarily for convict labourers and artisans, and that the demand for them has often exceeded the supply. In the city and the county of Dublin, very many of them are now actually engaged. They and those who employ them may be seen and interrogated; and it will, I believe, be discovered that their lives afford the most persuasive testimony of the power and the worth of the system, without which, according to all the experience of the past, instead of becoming absorbed in the community, and having a long career of utility and happiness opened before them, they would, probably, have left the gaol only to return to it, time after time—at each relapse, more abandoned and hopeless than before.

The same course of training is applied to female convicts, and with nearly similar results—with results, at least, as satisfactory. They also run through the several stages of the established discipline which I have described, but its termination is accomplished in institutions which have

received the name of Refuges, and to which women whose good conduct, through the long probationary period, entitles them to special trust and favour, have access towards the end of their prison life. There is a Protestant Refuge in Heytesbury Street, which is sedulously cared for by benevolent ladies, who voluntarily superintend the conduct of its inmates and their matron. We have had strong evidence that it is admirably managed, that situations are obtained without much difficulty for those of the women, who have given assurance of true repentance and amendment, and that it has had the best results in the permanent reclamation of very many. The Catholic Refuge at Golden Bridge is under the management of the Sisters of Mercy, and has, of necessity, a much more extensive organisation, from the much larger number of Catholic convicts. At the head of it is a lady, whose great administrative ability, and extraordinary power of influencing for good the women committed to her care, make fruitful the absolute devotedness with which she spends her life in that mission of mercy. Nothing can be more wise than the arrangements, nothing more effective than the working, of this establishment; and the relations of the religious ladies who control it, with the Catholic community throughout Ireland and in various countries, have enabled them to find employment at home or abroad, for, I believe, every one of the convicts who have proved worthy of it. Similar efforts, as I have observed, have been made by the ladies who manage the Protestant Refuge, with proportionate success, and the result is, that a very small number, indeed, of the women who have passed from both (not more, I understand, than four per cent. upon the whole) have again fallen back to their former condition. The value of such refuges is as great, as the necessity for them is plain and pressing. It is peculiarly difficult to establish

a trustworthy and proper surveillance, by the police or otherwise, over female convicts, after their discharge; and it is of great importance that they should, so far as may be possible, be kept in safe asylums, under the control of persons of their own sex, until they have a fair opportunity of obtaining reputable service or emigrating with advantage. And, on the whole, I may add, it seems to me, from all the information which has reached me, that, in the majority of such cases, emigration is desirable, when it can be effected.

I might easily dwell far longer on a theme so grateful; but many of my auditors are already familiar with it; and I think that, in the observations I have made, I have indicated to those who are not, the sum and substance of that Irish system to which good men have begun to look with so much hope and confidence. There is no mystery about it—no startling appliance of any novel power. It carries to a further result the doctrines which have already had their application to some extent in England, and more largely on the Continent of Europe, and in particular instances, with special success, under Montesinos and Obermaier, in Bavaria and Spain. It is not my province to judge how far it may be available in other lands—how far it may have had, as I think it has had, some peculiar facilities for fortunate employment, from the circumstances of Ireland, and the character of her people—how far there may be difficulties to overcome in applying it to larger prison populations, more deeply steeped in crime. These are questions of weight and importance, on which there may be difference of sentiment. I am content to know, that a great good has been done, and a great example afforded—that careful effort, perseveringly pursued, has been found undoubtedly efficacious in the reformation of convicts and the diminution of crime—and that our country

has reason to be proud of the achievement, and grateful for the benefits it confers. And I am more than willing to believe, that as "of one blood God formed all the nations of the earth," as we are endowed with the same nature, prompted by the same impulses, and stimulated or controlled by the same affections and desires, there is no good reason for supposing that the experiment which has been so successful in Ireland should fail in other countries, or that, according to their various circumstances and necessities, they should not be able, most profitably, to apply the principles which have been so well tested here.

According to the latest information available to us, the inmates of the Government prisons, who, in 1854, numbered 3,933, are, in the present year, reduced to 1,492;—5,560 convicts having been discharged on licence from those prisons between the 1st of January, 1854, and the 1st of January, 1861, and only 89 of the licences having been revoked, including those of 30 convicts whose conduct had been irregular, but not criminal. These are suggestive figures; and they are entitled to the fullest consideration, because the completeness of the police surveillance, and the promptness with which any breach of the conditions of the licence in any individual case is noted and punished, give them special accuracy.

I may add, that I see no reason to doubt the applicability of the discipline I have been describing to other prisons, also, under any difference of conditions which different circumstances, especially as to the length of confinement, may seem to make essential. The reformatory principle, if it be sound and just, will work universally with most wholesome influence. But, the branch of our social arrangements to which it has been applied is new in its character and necessarily imperfect. Only a little time has passed, since men's thoughts were turned to it with

any earnestness, and the wonder is that, in so short a period, so much should have been done. The progress, once begun, will happily continue; and I hope yet to see all the departments of our punitive and reformatory institutions,—the school of the juvenile and the gaol of the adult, the government prison and the prison of the county, —moulded into one consistent and homogeneous system; its parts mutually sustaining and answering to each other; and the whole animated by the same spirit, aiming at the same objects, and subject, perhaps,—without the loss of the advantages of voluntary aid and effort, where they are available,—to the same central control.

I spoke originally of three great divisions of the subject with which I have been engaged,—the treatment of the young criminal, the treatment of the adult, and that which is equally, for their moral efficiency, the necessary condition and complement of both, the preparation necessary to restore them to society, so that we may not lose the benefit of all the care which has been spent upon them. I have spoken of the first and the second. I have left myself no time to speak to you fully of the third. But, it is essential to be carried out in every effective plan of reformatory punishment. In vain, will you give the convict, old or young, an improved mind and a chastened heart; in vain, will you give him capacity of continuous labour, and a desire to advance himself by worthy means, if, when his prison doors are opened, he finds the world, as it were, in a conspiracy against him, and bent upon his ruin—no one to trust him—no one to meet him kindly—no one to give him the opportunity of earning honest bread! So it has been, too often and too generally; so it is, still. And, whilst it is so, what hope is there, in many cases, of permanent reformation? The willing labourer can get no work to do. The man who yearns to make himself worthy of association

with his kind is repelled, as if his presence were pestilential. His good purposes are defeated. His hope of redemption vanishes away. If he will live at all, he must live as a criminal;—and he is clutched again by his old associates, and drawn back to the depths of the abyss of sin, from which he had vainly prayed and laboured to emerge. Realise the condition of a convict coming forth at the conclusion of his imprisonment, with the brand upon his brow,—without, it may be, a relative or a friend in the wide world,—without food to eat or the chance of fairly getting it,—and you will believe that there is no exaggeration in this miserable picture. And such a picture —of a creature hopeless, helpless, utterly abandoned, driven to outrage the law that he may exist, and to purchase in a prison, by new offences, the shelter which society denies him—has moved in other countries many a kind heart to pity, and the result has been that in France, in Belgium, in Bavaria, and most Continental nations, societies and individuals have combined to watch over prisoners disposed to lead virtuous lives, and afford them an opportunity of doing so. In Bavaria, for example, there is a complete national organisation to this end, including a society for every province and a committee for every district. Six weeks before the discharge of a prisoner, notice of it is given by the governor of the gaol to the district committee, with a full account of his character and habits, the amount of money he may have earned in prison, and the circumstances which may be supposed to justify the extension of assistance to him; and the committee, exercising its discretion as to each individual case, supplies. to those who are worthy of it, productive occupation and maintains a watchful supervision over them. In France, the great Association of St. Vincent de Paul numbers the care for prisoners amongst its noblest and most cherished

works; and there are *Sociétés de Patronage* in that country which have long laboured, most successfully, for the assistance, equally, of the young and the adult. In Miss Hill's admirable paper on Mettrai, she informed us that more than 1,500 individuals discharged from that institution actually receive the benefit of this assistance, and paid a touching tribute to Paul Louis Verdier, who sacrificed his life in his efforts to bestow it, and left a name which is in benediction in many a poor Parisian dwelling.

I am happy to say that, in England also, institutions conceived in a like spirit, and working on like principles, are beginning to spring up. In Birmingham, the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society has existed since the 1st of July, 1856, with the most beneficial results, attained at the expense of a very trifling outlay. The last report of the society I have received through the kindness of Mr. Charles Radcliff, and it describes a system in many respects most worthy of study and imitation. It states, that the object of the association is neither to maintain discharged prisoners in idleness, nor to furnish them with work by a forced or artificial supply, but to aid them to obtain employment in the ordinary labour market. It speaks of the special disabilities to which I have pointed, precluding such persons from being employed; and it states further, that its plan has acted with entire success, no difficulty having been experienced in finding temporary lodgings for prisoners, and little in obtaining employment for those who were willing to work, and that money to a very small amount, wisely distributed amongst hundreds of persons, at an expenditure of about £1. 7s. 6d. for each individual aided, has proved to many of them of the greatest importance, in keeping them up until they could find engagements for themselves. The proceedings of this society are very encouraging, as are those of the Prisoners'

Aid Society of London, which was mainly, I believe, established through the efforts of Mr. Whitbread. And the statements which the section heard with such pleasure from the Rev. Mr. Fish as to the complete facility of obtaining employment for the children of the Yorkshire Reformatories were demonstrative, that what has been done so successfully in France may be most hopefully attempted in England.

In Ireland, the progress of the reformatory movement has already originated some partial efforts of this kind. I have spoken of the individual labours of Mr. Organ, which have prospered so remarkably—of the establishment of the inmates of the Heytesbury Refuge in honest service, and of the larger cares of the ladies of Golden Bridge, which have resulted, under God's blessing, in giving blameless lives and happy homes to hundreds of female convicts. But far more is necessary—larger and more permanent arrangements, which shall pervade the country, and supply the means of salvation, temporal and eternal, wherever—and only where—they are truly needed and really desired. The experience of the Continent and of England demonstrates by what a small expenditure, made judiciously, and in the proper spirit, a vast amount of good may be accomplished in this direction. The State can do the rest. It can establish sound discipline and appoint able governors in the prisons under its control. It can assist and regulate institutions which may be founded by voluntary effort. But, I repeat, both for the child and for the adult, it is essential that benevolence should bend itself to aid authority, and make the reformation of the prison and the school rich in real usefulness, by providing for those who have passed through its purifying ordeal a field for industry and an opportunity of progress.

Let no man say that those who are friends of reformatory

institutions aspire after an impossible Utopia, or indulge in dreams of the perfectibility of our earthly state, such as deluded many in the generation which went before us. Whilst time lasts, there will be poverty and sin. Society will need to resist its enemies, and subdue them by stringent laws and heavy penalties. None know better than those who labour to improve it how deceitful and wicked is the human heart. But we do not refuse, because we cannot make our world a Paradise, to strive for its amendment; and though, amongst the young and the old, we may not hope to extinguish crime, which will surge or subside according to circumstances, we are surely bound to do what we can, that its evils may be mitigated and its sphere contracted. We are yet far from the complete development of a well-ordered system, in which punishment shall be moderate, but certain—merciful, but adequate and just—and which shall regard as its paramount object, the safety of society through the prevention of offences, without forgetting the mighty agency to that good end which is supplied in the reformation of the criminal. But we have made great and cheering progress. The work has been well begun, and it will surely prosper. Meanwhile, we may address to those who can help it forward, in any of its departments, the words of one of the great sages of our law, who longed for reforms which the revolution of centuries, since his day, has failed fully to accomplish—"The consideration of preventing justice were worthy of the wisdom of Parliament; and, in the meantime, expert and wise men to make preparation for the same. As the text saith—'*ut benedicat eis Dominus.*' Blessed shall he be that layeth the first stone of the building, more blessed that proceeds with it, most of all that finisheth it, to the glory of God and the honour of our Queen and nation."

THE STUDY OF JURISPRUDENCE—ROMAN, ENGLISH, AND CELTIC.

The Study of Jurisprudence—Roman, English, and Celtic.

[In 1867 the Social Science Association met in Belfast, and the proceedings of its Section on "Jurisprudence" were opened by the Address which follows.]

NOT without reason has the Association, which I have the honour to address, placed the Science of Jurisprudence foremost amongst the great subjects of social interest. Whether we regard the foundations on which it is established, the faculties it exercises, the knowledge it exacts, or the influence it wields in the affairs of life and the intercourse of nations, we shall not wonder that it was described, by one of the wisest of men,* as "the pride of the human intellect, which, with all its defects, redundancies, and errors, is the collected reason of ages, combining the principles of original justice with the infinite variety of human concerns."

Although it may not claim, for the purpose of our inquiries, so large a range as the definition of the Institutes would challenge for it,—"Divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia: justi atque injusti scientia,"—we know that its culture lifts us to the highest regions of ethical speculation; and compels us to become familiar with the noblest pages in the history of man, and the best achievements of

* Burke, II., 134.

his intellect. It makes us conversant with the practical agencies which shape our civil state, and the expediencies needful to be regarded for its judicious government; and prepares us to adapt legislation to the shifting necessities of the world, and the progressive development and amelioration of humanity.

"The Spirit of Law, the lute of Amphion, the harp of Orpheus,"* which holds in harmony the atoms of the material universe, pervades, as certainly, man's moral being, subordinating his liberty of will, without diminution of his responsibility, to the accomplishment of God's designs. And the Science, which, for our social purposes, is its exponent and minister, should operate with living force, in every field of human activity.

You have four various sections—of Education, and Health, and Social Economy, and Trade—and in each of them you deal with matters of great importance; but to make the results of your inquiries fruitful of lasting profit, you need, in all, the aid of the statesman, who must be a jurist also, if he would be worthy of his high calling, that by wise legislation he may maintain the settled order in which progress grows, and give sanction, vitality, and permanence to the inventions of genius and the schemes of philanthropy.

Recognising thus the importance of Jurisprudence, in its wide and various relations with the world's affairs, your Association has done rightly in making the recognition prominent and impressive. Unfortunately, in the cultivation of it, and of its great subdivisions of the Natural Law, the Law of Nations, and the Municipal Law of individual states, we, in these countries, lawyers and laymen alike, have long been inferior to the learned of

* Coleridge, "The Friend," p. 106.

Continental nations. From the revival of letters until the present hour, those nations have produced an unbroken series of illustrious jurists, and maintained legal schools of world-wide renown. They have found in the Code, the Pandects, and the Institutes of Rome, although not the best safeguards for political liberty, the completest development of the theory of civil justice; and they have been led, by the study of those immortal works, to deal with Law in a philosophic spirit, to seek its origin in the principles of morals and the nature and history of man, to find for it a true scientific expression, and appreciate it as a consistent, coherent and systematic whole.

On the other hand, since the time when the Barons made their famous proclamation—*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari!*—and the struggle began between the Civil and the Common Law, the legal intellect of England has been over-much concentrated on her own juridical institutions, based as they have been upon positive authority, rather than on the foundations of theoretic principle. They were built up, bit by bit, as decision succeeded decision, upon the questions of the hour, without reference to any view of integral construction, or any nice proportion in the parts of the accumulating mass: and thus—

> Broadening down, from precedent to precedent,—

they grew into a vast and ponderous system, which, though it may not have been "the perfection of reason," as its idolators have proclaimed it, was yet, in spite of many blemishes, generally informed with the spirit of wisdom and equity; and had its advantage in securing some certainty of judicial action, by the assurance that recorded judgments would be faithfully followed, on the recurrence of the circumstances in which they had their origin. It

lacked the order and the clearness of a code, enunciating general propositions, to be variously applied in special instances; but, at the same time, it bridled that licence of decision which Lord Camden called "the law of tyrants," and claimed for itself some of the warmth of admiration which Sir James Mackintosh * contemplated as the noblest of spectacles, "The cautious and unwearied exertions of a succession of wise men through a long course of ages, withdrawing every case from the dangerous power of discretion, and subjecting it to inflexible rules, extending the dominion of justice and reason, and gradually contracting, within the narrowest possible limits, the domain of brutal force and arbitrary will."

The honours and profits of professional success have not been generally enhanced, in England or in Ireland, by acquaintance with the works of foreign jurists, and the records of legislation in other lands,—whilst it is effort enough for a laborious life to approach a mastery of our own laws and procedure. And thus it came to pass that, though the faculties of our pleaders and conveyancers were sharpened, to almost preternatural acuteness, and the case-learning of the Bar was varied and profound, and it was continually adorned by advocates of great power and eloquence —the range of legal thought, amongst us, was narrow; the general culture of the lawyer was thin and poor; and he had no care for the learning which, elsewhere, was deemed essential to the instructed members of his profession, making them familiar with the labours of their fellows in other times and nations; and uniting them in a brotherhood of endeavour and acquirement with the famous magistrates and jurisconsults of Imperial Rome and Modern Italy, of Holland, and Spain, and Germany, and France.

* Works, I., 381.

In this respect, as in so many others, we are improving our condition. The English Inns of Court have now their professors of Civil Law, and the lectures and examinations they have instituted direct attention to a far more liberal course of studies, than was deemed sufficient for the legal apprentice in my early days. In Ireland, also, we have had such lectures and examinations on our own Law for a considerable period, though the study of the Roman and general Jurisprudence must still be pursued in collegiate institutions. The programme of the new teaching for the current year is very rich and various. We have made progress; but, to this hour, there is a startling difference between these kingdoms and the Continent of Europe, in the matter to which I have referred. Here, it has been possible for an able man to reach the topmost heights of professional success, in reliance merely on his knowledge of the doctrines and technicalities necessary to his ordinary practice, though ignorant of the very names of the great jurists of antiquity and later times, and holding in contempt the Science to which those names gave lustre.

It behoves us to go on with the work we have well begun. I would fain assist, however humbly, to advance it; and, to that end, I shall briefly suggest some of the motives which prompt to its vigorous prosecution, for the sake of the future lawyers and statesmen of the Empire. I cannot range through the wide field of legal education, and must content myself with a glance at the importance of cultivating a knowledge of the general principles which should underlie all legislative action, in their connexion, especially, with the study of the Civil Law.

Although, as I have said, we have lagged behind others in the liberal culture of Law as a Science, we have not been without jurists to lessen that reproach,—few in number, but

of signal eminence,—who have given example which may well inspirit imitation.

> Great men have been amongst us ; hands that penn'd
> And tongues that utter'd wisdom, better none !

The labours of Romilly, and Mackintosh, and Brougham should stir to honourable rivalry the best minds of the generation which now reaps their ample fruit in a humanised criminal code; in the promptness and accessibility of civil justice; in the abolition of outworn fictions and cumbrous and costly forms of procedure; and the gradual harmonising of our entire legal system with sound reason and true public policy. The name of Bentham, well described as one of the seminal intellects of England, whose best conceptions these men and others reduced to action, in spite of all discouragement, need not fear comparison with that of any thinker of his age. I shall not refer to the older works of More, of Selden, of Harrington, and Locke. What has been done, within living memory, by Austen and others, is sufficient to make further effort feasible and hopeful.

We cannot expect that Jurisprudence should command more than a comparatively moderate attention, save from those whose special vocations, legal or political, put them in close connexion with it, at this time of hot and bustling progress, when it is so hard to keep up with the perennial growth of a multitudinous literature. We shall not again see, what Fortescue describes, the thronging of 2,000 *filii nobiles*—the children of the gentle-folks of England—to the Inns of Court and Chancery, to be indoctrinated in a knowledge of the laws, as a part of their common education; but we may suggest to the student who would be

more than a mere workman at the Bar, and rise to the proper level of his order, that he will find, in cultivating a knowledge of the system which still, more than all others, protects the interests and regulates the action of civilised men throughout the world, a needful aid towards the true appreciation of the law he designs to practise, and may be called to administer.

Great English judges have pointed to the connexion of the law of England with the Roman Jurisprudence. Lord Holt speaks of it in a solemn judgment:* and we are informed by Bishop Burnet that "Lord Hale often said the true grounds and reasons of law were so well determined in the (Roman) digest, that a man could never understand law as a science so well as by seeking it there; and, therefore, lamented much that it was so little studied in England."† That Jurisprudence, although it was worsted in the contest with the Common Law, left its mark deeply on English thought and the English judicature. Lord Bacon says, somewhere, "Our laws are as mixed as our language"; and, undoubtedly, during the Roman occupation of Britain, for nearly five hundred years, the native views of justice and its administration were interfused much with those of the invaders. And, when the composite system, so created, came afterwards to be shaped and expanded, the early masters of it,—Fleta and Glanville, and eminently Bracton, the great legal classic of England,—were versed in that of Rome, and drew from it many a doctrine and many a form of thought and speech. The early judges got much of their wisdom there; and their decisions, so inspired, became part of the Common Law. The old inimical principles ran thus into each other, and were, to a large extent, indistinguishable in the stream of legal tradition

* 12 Mod. 482. † Life, p. 7.

and judicial resolution, as it moved downward, with ever-gathering volume, from century to century. Still more clearly and directly, the Roman Code operated on the action of the Courts of Equity and Admiralty, the Ecclesiastical Courts and the Courts Martial, and, in all of these, knowledge of it could not be dispensed with by a practitioner who valued the accomplishments becoming his position. Therefore, because of its connexion with the laws of his own land, the study of the Jurisprudence of Rome should be full of interest to the English and the Irish student.

But, more than this, and beyond our need of the knowledge to be derived from it, as to the sources and the doctrines of our ancient laws, the study of the Roman Code —although it is not free from shortcomings and imperfections in definition, arrangement, and principle, — is commended to us, as that of the most perfect scheme of Jurisprudence which the wit of man has ever devised. It was the creation of Imperial power; and it has too largely subserved the purposes of despotism. Our political rights and liberties have another origin and other guarantees; but, regarding it as a system of Civil Law, the greatest thinkers of the modern world have exhausted all forms of eulogy in describing its excellence. St. Augustine says that "Providence made use of the Roman people to subdue the Universe and govern it the better by their laws, after their empire had been destroyed." Fortescue speaks of the Civil Law as exalted by fame throughout the earth, above all other laws;—"*Super humanas cunctas leges alias fama per orbem extollit gloriosa.*" Bacon approves Justinian's own description of his work, as "a fitting and most sacred temple dedicated to justice;—"*Proprium et sanctissimum templum justitiæ consecratum.*" The Chancellor D'Aguesseau adopts the idea of the great Bishop of Hippo,

declaring that "the grand destinies of Rome are not yet accomplished; she reigns throughout the world by her reason, after having ceased to reign by her authority":—*Non ratione imperii sed imperio rationis.* And Gibbon calls it "the fair and everlasting monument" of the Emperor whose name it bears.

The wonderful method which pervades the juridical writings of the Romans, has been truly said to render them models to all succeeding ages, and pre-eminently to fit them for producing and developing the qualities of the mind which are to form a Jurist;* and it is surely of consequence to us, whose scheme of law has been fashioned, as I have said, from the accidental and undirected accretion of decisions in particular cases, and can, therefore, have very little of scientific accuracy or ordered arrangement, to become acquainted with a system which is the highest expression of science and order in the legislation of mankind. "I know of nothing," says Leibnitz, "which approaches so near to the precision of geometry as the Roman law."† And habits of method and precision we are bound to cultivate, not more for the improvement of our mere professional training, than for the creation of a better practical statesmanship.

Consider the value of such habits even in the department of Parliamentary conduct, which has to do with the preparation of our Statutes.

We have had admirable Acts framed, from time to time—by Mr. Brodie, by the present accomplished counsel to the Home Office, Mr. Thring, and by other competent draughtsmen,—Acts in which each word has its value, and all the clauses hang together, in clear logical dependence and

* Falck. Jur. Enc., c. 2, s. 109. Austin's Lectures, III., 360.
† Op. IV., 254.

full harmony with each other.* But the Bills which are ordinarily introduced into the Legislature are too often inexact in their phraseology and slipshod in their frame; and when they have run the gauntlet of the Houses, and been modified according to the crude notions of individual members, importing special clauses for particular objects, without any reference to, or care for, their general scheme and scope, they receive the assent of the Sovereign in a condition of obscurity and confusion, puzzling to the judges who must interpret them, fruitful of vexatious litigation, and necessitating speedy and difficult amendment. They want the certainty and settled character which society should claim, in the work of those to whom it delegates the function of the Legislator.

In this respect, we have poorly profited by the teachings of experience. Centuries ago, the Statutes of the English Parliament had a lucid terseness which is wanting to those of modern days, as any one may see who will study, in the Statute of Uses, an almost matchless piece of legislative art, or compare the early Acts, copied by Mr. Froude, in his history, with those of the last quarter of a century. No doubt, the greater complication of affairs and interests increases the difficulty of providing, with brevity and clearness, for possible contingencies; but the evil is far greater than it need be, and, seeking for a remedy, we should look, not merely to good English models, but to the examples of consummate skill, in expression and arrangement, presented by the Codes of antiquity and of some of the modern nations which have been wise enough to imitate them. For, as examples, they are admirable, not merely in their methodical order, but also in their precise and compressed phraseology. "The style of the Roman lawyers," says Mr. Austin, "was

* Note A.

always simple and clear, commonly brief and nervous. . . . It bears the same relation to that of Blackstone and Gravina which a Grecian statue bears to a milliner's doll in the finery of the season." * I should have been better pleased if the scornful reference to our polished commentator had been spared; but there can be no doubt that the inartistic and bungling performances of many of our law-makers would be much improved, if they could learn something of the simple clearness and nervous brevity of the old Roman time.

The day is coming fast, when the body of our Law must be digested, and reduced to the proportions of a simple and manageable Code. The work effected for Rome when Tribonian and his fellows digested such a Code from the chaotic mass of judgments and ordinances, which is said to have burthened many camels—the work which Bacon was willing to undertake for England, in the midst of his mighty labours—for which Romilly pleaded, with persuasive eloquence—of which all thoughtful men have long appreciated the importance, whilst they have felt the difficulty—that work, I repeat, by some means, and in some fashion, must at last be done. Its beginnings are prosperous, and its completion is assured. What is, at this moment, in progress for our Indian empire,—what has been accomplished so well in New York, for the English law—mainly through the persisting devotedness and high ability of a distinguished jurist (Mr. Dudley Field), who has crossed the Atlantic to honour this Congress with his presence—cannot be incapable of imitation and extension in the country which produced it. We have already consolidated our criminal legislation, and the success of the experiment must urge to further effort in the same direction. And, if

* Lectures, III., 361.

this be so, and if an imminent duty of the time may prove to be, the digest and the codification of our statutes and reports, it behoves those on whom that duty may be cast to look behind them and around them, and see what has been achieved, in other times and countries, that they may be guided to avoid mistakes, and obtain encouragement and wise direction for the worthy completion of their appointed task.

They will find that what remains to be done for us has been effected for many other nations. They will find, in Bavaria, the oldest of the recent Codes; in Prussia, the Landrecht, which Savigny holds in the highest estimation; in Austria, the Gesetzbuch, originated by the genius of Maria Theresa; in Russia, the Zakonow, the *corpus juris* of that great empire, framed by continuing commissions under successive sovereigns; and, in France, the Code Napoléon, not very complete and too hastily prepared, but the purest, perhaps the only unstained, glory of the wonderful man, whose boast was that he would go down to posterity with that Code in his hand. They will see that all these various systems have derived their animating principles of equity and order largely from the Roman precedents; and that, even as to the last, though it rose from the chaos of the Revolution, it owed to the training and traditions of the French Bar, in the great days of the Parliaments, when the study of the Civil Law was essential, not only to the advocate, but to candidates for high public office, the shape and substance which it ultimately took through the learned toil of Cambacères and Tronchet, and Napoleon's keen intuition and energetic will. If the business of the Digest or the Code is to be fitly done for us, the ancient Jurisprudence and its emanations throughout modern Europe must not be unknown to those who undertake it. They will need large acquaintance with the

details of practice, enactments, and decisions; but they must also understand the Science of Law, and be trained to apply it, by familiarity with its great creations.

But, further still, the knowledge of these things may be, in the coming time, of value and significance in other ways. We live in a period of transition. Many old things are vanishing. We have seen political changes, which cannot be barren of great results for evil or for good. Of these results we have no sure prevision; no man can pretend to have it. But we may look confidently forward, sustained and heartened by the teachings of political history, in which we have so often seen gloomy anticipations falsified, and unreal terrors turned to hope and joy.

> The Future hides in it
> Good hap and sorrow:
> Still we go thorow:
> Nought that abides in it
> Daunting us, Onward!

Though we cannot foresee the doings of the morrow, we know that momentous interests need to be guarded, and great social problems press for a solution; and we shall do well, if we learn to deal with them from that old experience which is, indeed, "philosophy instructing by example." We may so avoid the risks of empirical adventure; and enrich ourselves with wisdom, purchased by our fellow-beings at a heavy cost. Our statesmanship will hereafter be hardly tested in encountering the difficulties which attach to the settlement of vexed questions, as to the relations of property and labour and of the owners and occupiers of the soil, as to the devolution of estates and the regulation of inheritance, as to the education of the masses, the civil establishment of religion, the limits and the means of punishment and reformation; and upon these, and many

another subject of weary controversy, assistance may be had from the results of human thought and effort as they are noted, in their varying phases, by the legislation which, throughout the world, has given to them a faithful and enduring record.

A knowledge of that legislation will enlarge the range of our intellectual vision, beyond the limits sometimes prescribed to it by insular isolation and insular conceit. It will make us conversant with the many forms of social life, and the inventions and devices which have been applied, through the course of ages, to clothe that life with order, dignity, and comfort; and it may thus aid us to encounter, with prepared intelligence, the difficulties which certainly await us, and to mould our institutions, with confidence and safety, according to the varying exigencies of political and commercial progress.

And, finally, I would say, that not only is the study of Jurisprudence, in its largest sense, thus useful in making us more cognisant of the principles of our own Law, preparing us to codify and digest it, providing the machinery and means of efficient legislation, and giving to public men strength and insight to encounter the perplexities of their position,—it will be useful, also, with reference to our international arrangements with other countries. In this sphere of action, we are familiar with strange events. Settled doctrines and rules of conduct, which were long sacred to statesmen and diplomatists, have fallen into desuetude. We hear no more of the old Balance of Power or the value of Treaties, which were once held to be the essential basis of the public law of Europe. Agencies, of which our fathers never dreamt, have wrought effects they must have deemed incredible. A seven days' campaign begins and ends a mighty war, and effects dynastic revolutions which seven

years, or four times seven, on the same battle-grounds, could not have formerly accomplished. The ocean bears in its bosom the medium of instant communication between the continents, which it invites to moral union, whilst it holds them for ever in physical severance. The rail and the telegraph bring all mankind together; and we begin to doubt whether the "Federation of the World" may not prove more than the dream of a poet, when we see the Sultan lunch with Queen Victoria, and share the loving cup with the shopkeepers of London.

And whilst thus, as never before since the creation, the earth spins forward,

> Down the ringing grooves of change,—

International law must undergo modifications, and adapt itself to the altered time. It will still subsist, and be consolidated and extended. Nations must retain a common standard of judgment,—a common appeal to the reason and conscience of the race. War must have its settled usages; embassies must enjoy their privileges; diplomacy must continue to recognise the obligations of its canons and traditions. And, besides, civilised states will feel an ever-growing need of reciprocal protection for the interests of commerce; reciprocal enforcement of righteous laws; reciprocal security for the property which intellect creates; reciprocal encouragement for the interchange of useful thought and effort, and that mixing of tongues and peoples which expands and strengthens the souls of men. The want of these things, and things such as these, will more and more compel the formation of a common Code—the principles of which have already had wide though imperfect recognition,—to regulate human intercourse; and, for the formation of it, they must seek assistance in that Science which, by the authority of its teaching, has so largely com-

manded the respect of sovereigns, and so often modified the relations of their subjects.

Before I pass from this cursory indication of some of the reasons for the culture of Jurisprudence, in a large and liberal spirit, I would say a word of another, which addresses itself peculiarly to the students of the Law.

The nobler education each man must give himself; and with himself it rests whether he shall be a mere toiler at the profitable drudgery of the Bar, or exalt and adorn his position by enriching his intellect and improving his moral nature. If he

> Scorns delights, and lives laborious days,

he may secure the technical endowments which will win him rank and wealth. But the mere legal training which gives acuteness to the mind sometimes contracts its powers and abases its aspirations; and, to counteract that evil tendency, he should possess himself, in addition, of the larger intelligence and the more generous spirit which come of extended culture and liberal thought.

Lord Bacon has written words, which cannot too often be repeated, in the preface to his "Maxims of the Law":— "I hold every man a debtor to his profession; from the which as men, of course, do seek to receive countenance and profit, so ought they to endeavour, themselves, by way of amends, to be a help and ornament thereunto. This is performed, in some degree, by the honest and liberal practice of a profession . . . but much more . . . if a man be able to visit and strengthen the roots of the Science itself, thereby not only gracing it in reputation and dignity, but also amplifying it in perfection and substance." *

The counsel is wise and generous, and should not be less

* Works, IV., 10.

approved because, by the payment of the debt, we shall not be impoverished, but rather advanced in prosperity and honour. The Science by which Lord Bacon would have us to help and ornament the practice of the Law, may not, as I have said, be indispensable to the practitioner's attainment of lucrative employment or lofty station; although, even to this result, it may very much conduce. No man need doubt that he will find profitable service for every species of faculty and endowment, in the infinitely varied exercises of that arduous vocation, which Dr. Johnson admired, as applying "the greatest powers of the understanding to the greatest number of facts." But the Science which may thus help the practice will do still more, in giving grace and brilliancy to success, and qualifying its possessor to transcend the bounds of mere forensic effort, and, according to his capacity and occasions, to make some useful contribution towards the improvement of his fellow-men.

The debtor to his profession is also a debtor to society; and they who have most faithfully discharged the double obligation have most commanded the reverence of mankind. Sir Thomas More was not the less a great Lord Chancellor, because he proved himself also a prescient jurist, anticipating, in dark and evil days, the establishment of free representative institutions; the reform of a merciless criminal code; the substitution of certainty for severity of punishment; the recognition of the rights of conscience, and the final triumph of Religious Liberty. Bacon did not fear to match himself against Lord Coke, as an athlete in the narrow arena of the English law, because he had passed beyond it to far larger spheres, and was, indeed,—

> A man so various that he seem'd to be
> Not one, but all mankind's epitome!

Lord Mansfield ruled the Bar of England for twenty

years with at least as high a mastery as if he had not been devoted to the cultivation of letters, and imbued with that knowledge of the principles of the Jurisprudence of the old and the modern world, which emancipated him from superstitious reverence for the rigidity of the system of his own country, and fitted him to win enduring fame as the creator of our Commercial Code, and take his place, in the esteem of intellectual Europe, with Grotius, Filangieri, and D'Aguesseau. Sir Samuel Romilly would have given no better service to his clients, if he had failed to keep abreast with the current of literary progress, and strive, laboriously and bravely, for the amendment of the law. And, if we needed other illustration of the truth I labour to impress by great examples, I might point to the eminent person to whom our Association mainly owes its being,* as having combined earnest devotion to his profession, and high success in it, with a wide range of scientific and literary acquisition, and an untiring endeavour for the advancement of human happiness and freedom. We lament his absence. We shall miss, in all our sections, his careful supervision and his weighty words. But he will not be lost to our grateful remembrance. We honour him not the less because he is not here:—

Eo magis præfulgebat, quia non visebatur!

Thus far, in suggesting some of the considerations which commend to us the study of historical and scientific Jurisprudence, I have dealt with a topic which might have been discussed anywhere, by any of the distinguished men who have held the place which I now occupy. And I have dealt with it, as well because they have generally addressed themselves to other subjects,† as because this appeared to me worthy of present attention, in aid of that amendment of

* Lord Brougham. † Note B.

legal education which is honourably characteristic of our time. But it seems to me that, as we are assembled here in Ireland, I should make some portion of my address "racy of the soil," by speaking of matters which are not merely important in relation to the general business of this section, but have peculiar connexion with our own Law and Procedure. It is right that we should all, in turn, contribute something special to the sum of the knowledge of our friends, when they favour us, on occasions like this, by coming to our homes.

The question as to the assimilation of the laws of England and Ireland is, I observe, with great propriety, submitted to our consideration. I cordially approve the application of the principle, whenever it can be made, in fair consistency with local needs and feelings. We should not assimilate merely for the purpose of assimilation; but it is very desirable that we should interchange good institutions, and make our entire system of judicature as uniform and homogeneous as may be reasonably possible. With a view to this desirable result, I mean to point to some noteworthy portions of our legal system, which belong to us peculiarly, and in which, to some extent, we have outrun the legislation of England.

The formation of a general Register of Deeds and Assurances has, for several centuries, occupied the attention of English statesmen and lawyers. Its great necessity was recognised by Parliament, so long ago as the year 1535 (27 H. VIII., c. 6), and again, during the Chancellorship of Lord Bacon, in 1617; but nothing came of the attempts, abortively made, at both those periods. In 1703, a Register was provided, by statute, for the county of York; and, in 1708, a similar statute gave its Register to the county of Middlesex.

No further provision of the kind was made for England.

The seventeenth century passed. The want continued to be acknowledged. Lord Hale, and others of high authority, recognised and lamented it; but nothing was done. In 1815 and 1816, Sir Samuel Romilly and Sergeant Onslow tried, severally, to induce the House of Commons to approve of Bills for a general registration; and both failed to carry their measures beyond a second reading. Repeated commissions have since given solemn consideration to the subject, and produced elaborate reports. Repeated attempts were made, in the Houses of Lords and Commons, by Lord Campbell, Lord Cranworth, Mr. William Brougham, and others, to pass into law various schemes which had high approval. But they were one and all defeated. To this hour, England remains without any general Register of Conveyances; and the latest Commission which dealt with the matter, in 1857, preferred to such a Register a Register of Titles. Legal opinion appears to declare itself in favour of that preference; and, perhaps, for sufficient reasons, to which I cannot here advert.

Now, it is very remarkable that Ireland has possessed such a Register since the sixth year of Queen Anne. It was established by an Act of the Irish Parliament, passed in that year "to secure purchasers, and prevent forgeries and fraudulent gifts, &c.," which provided for that object, by authorising the registry of deeds, and giving a subsequent conveyance, if registered, priority over a prior conveyance, if unregistered. The Act directed the formation of a full official staff; and prescribed minutely the formalities needful to be observed for validating the registry. From the date of this Statute until the present time, it has been in full and effective operation, modified by various intermediate Acts, but unchanged in its essential character; and, upon the whole, working well and satisfactorily for the security of purchasers and the prevention

of frauds. Some amendments in the system are required, and would have been accomplished, three years ago, but for difficulties with the Treasury. They have been considered in an elaborate report by Mr. Lane, Q.C., and an able paper by Colonel Roberts, and they can be easily carried into effect. A Bill for the purpose was prepared, with great skill and ability, by my friend, Mr. James McDonnell, at my instance, when I was Attorney-General, and went to a second reading, but no further. I trust the alterations it designed may be soon effected. They are of great and pressing necessity to Ireland. I am not here, however, concerned with the details of the scheme, or its prospective changes. I desire only to point to our registry office as an Irish institution, which has supplied to us, for a century and a half, a social want keenly felt for three hundred years in England, and still existing there; and to invite to it and its machinery, the consideration of those who have intelligent interest in the matter, and may profit, in the work of assimilation, by our long experience.

We are not yet in a condition to judge how far the Registration and Record of Title systems which were introduced in the House of Commons, for England, by Lord Cairns in 1859, and, for Ireland, by myself, in July, 1864, in Bills which have since substantially become law, may hereafter affect the operation and necessity of a Registration of Assurances. The Irish measure applies only to cases in which the Landed Estates Court has given a Parliamentary Title; and does not extend to ordinary transactions of purchase and incumbrance. By-and-by, I trust that its operation may be enlarged, so as to assist still better in making the transfer of land simple, cheap, and easy. I agree with Mr. Mill in holding this to be "one of the greatest economical improvements which could be bestowed on a country":—and especially, I will add, on a country like

Ireland, which so eminently needs the creation of a small, independent proprietary,—an industrious middle class—with a settled interest in the soil, attaching them to the maintenance of our laws and institutions. I am glad to be able to say, that, although the Irish Act has been scarcely twelve months in real working order, and in spite of the peculiar difficulties, professional and other, which at first obstruct endeavours to simplify and cheapen legal procedure, no less than two hundred and twelve properties have already been completely registered under it, the value of which, determined by the amount of the purchase-money, is £657,074. This seems, in a high degree, satisfactory and encouraging; and the importance of the fact will justify the small digression which has enabled me to mention it in connexion with the registry of Assurances. If, in the course of time, it be found possible to substitute for Registration of Deeds a universal and complete Record of Title, so much the better. But the question of that substitution is very difficult, and may be long postponed; I do not stay to discuss it; and, in the meantime, our system has its value for use, in Ireland, and for example, elsewhere.

Another legal institution in which the Parliament of Ireland anticipated English progress, and which has still some special qualities inviting imitation, is that of our County Courts. The proceeding by English—afterwards Civil—Bill for the recovery of small debts existed, in Ireland, from an early period. It was originally entertained by the Judges of Assize, and was regulated by various Statutes, from the reign of George the First downwards. In the year 1796, the Irish Parliament, by an Act (36 Geo. III., c. 25), after reciting, that "it would contribute much to the ease of the poor, whose causes principally were tried by Civil Bills, and who were frequently brought far from their homes and unavoidably kept for many days

at the assizes, as parties or witnesses on such Civil Bills, and sometimes at an expense exceeding the sum in contest, if there should be more frequent opportunities of hearing and determining causes by Civil Bill, within the several counties of this kingdom," created the office of Assistant Barrister, providing that he should be a lawyer of a certain standing, appointed to aid and advise the Justices at Quarter Sessions, and, at the same time, to hold a civil court, of which he was constituted the sole judge, with a specified jurisdiction, in cases of tort and contract. The Sessions Court, so arranged, worked well and became popular. The Assistant Barrister soon assumed the leading position in the despatch of Crown business, which his training and knowledge qualified him to hold; and he is now made, by Statute, the permanent Chairman of the Justices. His Jurisdiction, as civil judge, has been greatly extended, and a large proportion of the legal controversies of the country come before his tribunal.

Thus, in the Irish Civil Bill Court, the English County Courts found a model, existing for full half a century before they were established, and operating with an efficiency which they have fully emulated. The old local jurisdictions of England, which were greatly favoured by the Common Law, had become effete and generally useless for public purposes; and the County Courts took their place in the year 1846.

It is remarkable that, in the Civil Bill procedure of Ireland, we find the germ of that fusion of Law and Equity, towards the consummation of which we are daily advancing. The Civil Bill Court is a Court of Equity for the defendant; and was so long before the Statute permitted the pleading of equitable pleas in the Superior Law Courts; or armed them with the powers of injunction, mandamus, and compulsory accounting, which enables the

suitor, sometimes with great advantage, to dispense with the intervention of a proceeding in Chancery. We are destined, I have no doubt, to witness, more and more, that consolidation of jurisdictions with which our Scottish brethren are familiar, and which the experience of the American tribunals seems to assure us may be safely, though cautiously, introduced amongst us, for the more speedy and economical decision of causes, and the removal of the reproach that, in the same country, with the same subject matter separate courts are required to deal, on different and sometimes conflicting principles.

I would add the expression of my opinion, that the equitable jurisdiction which belongs to the Judge of the English County Court, should be given, within proper limits, to the Irish Chairman of Quarter Sessions. It will be well and wisely used; and, in many cases, it will prevent the defeat of justice, which the impossibility of a poor man's access to the Court of Chancery sometimes makes inevitable.

I do not presume to judge of the condition of the local tribunals of England; but, certainly, our Irish ascertainment of the value of a skilled, capable, and independent lawyer, in directing and controlling criminal trials at Sessions, is not unworthy the consideration of those who have not had the advantage of the services of such a functionary. And our experience in this respect, may, perhaps, lead us hereafter to raise the question, whether those services might not be more efficiently bestowed on circuits travelled, as at Assizes, by changing Judges, with a diminished probability of the undue exercise of local influence, and without the intervention of those who, having been mixed up, ministerially, with the initiative of criminal proceedings, in conducting preliminary inquiries, may not always find it possible to preside, at the close of them, with that absence

of pre-conception and foregone conclusion, which is essential to the complete integrity of judicial action?

I was surprised, when I had the pleasure of meeting this Association in Dublin, in 1861, to hear that a very distinguished visitor from England—a man equally eminent in law and letters—declared he had never known of our possession of a system of public prosecution in Ireland. It was an illustration of the truth, that some of the people of these kingdoms are better acquainted with the customs of ancient tribes and the doings of foreign nations, than with the condition of their own fellow subjects, to whom, though divided from them by a narrow channel, they are bound by identity of language, intelligence, and interest, making it their common duty and manifest advantage to cultivate that knowledge of each other, which, among civilised men, breeds kindly feeling and stimulates to mutual service.

We have, in fact, had a Public Prosecutor for a very lengthened period. The Attorney-General of the time discharges the duties of the office; and he is assisted by a large staff of counsel and attorneys, who act under his control, at the Commission Court in Dublin, the Assize Courts, and the Courts of Quarter Sessions. The more important criminal cases are all submitted to him, in the first instance, that he may consider as to the propriety of proceeding with them, and give such directions as he may deem proper. And only when he declines to prosecute, are private persons allowed to intervene. Even so, he retains his right to prevent them from proceeding, by entering, at his discretion, a *nolle prosequi* on any indictment they may be permitted to prefer. These are the general outlines of our system, on the details of which, of course, I do not enter. It is capable of much improvement; but, upon the whole, it works efficiently, for the

accomplishment of impartial justice, and to the general satisfaction of the community.

This is another of the singular instances in which Ireland has outstripped her more favoured sister. England has no public prosecutor. The Attorney-General, save in cases in which he is specially engaged, has nothing to do with the management of criminal trials. The duty of prosecution is cast upon the injured; and the Executive Government does not charge itself with the responsibility of prompting them to activity, restraining their excesses or assisting them to secure just and reasonable convictions. "The most exalted functions of the Crown, and the most sacred rights of the subject, are left to the discretion of attorneys and policemen." These strong words are not mine. They were spoken by Mr. Phillimore, when he introduced into Parliament a Bill to supply the want which he so earnestly deplored.

And this condition of things is allowed to continue, although the appointment of a Public Prosecutor has been urged for many years, by the best and wisest men in England—including her three last Chief Justices,—and has had the emphatic sanction of a Royal Commission, in 1844, and a Parliamentary Committee, in 1856.

I know that the principle of action involved in such an appointment has been, more or less, the subject of controversy. I have, myself, been obliged, in the House of Commons, to defend the Irish practice against an able Anglo-Irish friend of mine; but it seems to me very plain that that practice, at least in its general scheme and operation, is worthy the best attention of jurists in England, with a view to its absolute or modified adoption there.

The supreme law of social safety is the warrant, as it should be the bounding measure, of the infliction of punishment, by man on man. That infliction is not designed to compensate for individual wrong, or satisfy individual ven-

geance. The "lex talionis" of the Hebrews is obsolete; and we hold in horror the Southern "vendetta," and the "deadly feud" of the North. We punish crime, that we may prevent the repetition of it, and work the amendment of the criminal. Vindictive justice does not belong to human law. It cannot penetrate the depths of the soul; and gauge the worth of actions by reaching their hidden springs, in the tangled motives and the various training, which make men what they are. It must be guided, in its conflict with fraud and violence, mainly by a regard for the results to the community which requires protection, and to the offender who needs reform.

Such are the principles which, in my judgment, should govern all penal jurisprudence. They are recognised by our ancient law, which institutes prosecutions universally in the name of the Sovereign, as the representative of outraged society; and makes the accused responsible, not to his accuser, but to the State.

The course of our criminal procedure, pursued in the light of these principles, should be stately, calm, and passionless. The prosecutor should act in a judicial spirit. He should be impregnable to any influence of fear or favour. He should labour to discover truth and do justice, without any wavering from the clear line of duty, to undue pressure on the one side, or imbecile tenderness on the other. He should be conscious of his great responsibility in dealing with the interests of liberty and life; and beware, whilst he deals with them, of displaying temper, or indulging self-will, or making those sacred interests the subject of an unseemly wrangle for forensic victory.

Such conduct of criminal causes the public prosecutor can secure; but, if they be committed to the management of individuals—who may be poor, or corrupt, or revengeful—it will be sought in vain. The poor man may not have

the time or the means to prosecute effectually. The corrupt man will compromise with his adversary. The revengeful man will violate honour and falsify fact, to glut his malignant hatred. And so, the law will not be enforced at all, or enforced unjustly. Surely, the system under which such results are possible is a reproach to the great country which has so long endured it; and almost deserves the condemnation pronounced on it in the speech to which I have already adverted, as "unwise, preposterous, and indecent."

I have ventured to invite notice to our Irish practice, in this respect, as furnishing a safe and well-tried model for imitation; and it is not less worthy of that notice, because a practice, in many respects similar, has long prevailed in Scotland, with great public advantage. Ours may, perhaps, have more adaptation to England, from the substantial identity of the English and Irish criminal law; but it might profitably be modified by the adoption of something like the Scotch machinery of the Procurator Fiscal's office, for the conduct of the early stages of penal procedure. We rely too much upon the Coroner: he is an ancient and venerable officer, but "crowner's quest law" has been ever in disrepute; and my experience is, that the preliminary investigations, which he institutes in this country, tend often and in various ways to the ultimate defeat of justice. I have no time to discuss the grounds of this opinion. I do not mean to extend it to the disparagement of many of the functions of the Coroner, with which I have nothing here to do; but, lauding our Irish practice, I think it right to qualify my commendation, by indicating the improvement which it may usefully derive from the example of Scotland.

Another Irish institution I cannot pass without a word, in this hurried reference to those which peculiarly belong to us. The calamity which swept myriads of our people

from the earth, in 1847 and 1848, whilst it filled the country with mourning and desolation, was made, by that Providence which draws the "soul of goodness" from evil things, fruitful of vast results. It precipitated the progress of events, compelled statesmanship to action through the teaching of a terrible necessity, and aided in securing commercial freedom for the empire and the world. To that great achievement, Ireland gave her help, although to herself its immediate consequences—affecting rudely a diseased society and a defective land system—were not likely to be beneficial. She strove for true principles, and the cause of universal progress, and not for profit to herself.

That was one great collateral result of the dread Irish famine. Another was the establishment of the Incumbered Estates Court, which wrought essential public good, at the expense of much individual loss and suffering; removed an insolvent proprietary, with which true national progress was incompatible; and prepared the way for a sounder state of things. That temporary tribunal has grown into permanence, with extended powers, and continues to confer upon us many benefits,—cheapening conveyances, facilitating the disposal of estates and making titles clear and indefeasible; and so, in connexion with the recording scheme of which I have already spoken, preparing for a gradual distribution of landed property more largely amongst the occupants of the soil, which will yet conduce, with other influences, to give tranquil order, industrial energy, and a hopeful future to the Irish people.

Something has been done in the same direction for England. Lord Cairns endeavoured, in 1859, to establish, for her, also, a Landed Estates Court; but his Bill was not passed, and subsequent legislation has not reached the point at which he aimed. It seems desirable, that the success of the Irish experiment should secure its effective

repetition. England, also, needs the disencumbering of embarrassed properties, the clearing of complicated titles, and the relief of the land from the feudal fetters and the ponderous conveyancing, which impede its free transfer. And she, as well as Ireland, will find safety and profit in a change, which, healthily diffusing small estates amongst multitudes of honest purchasers, may, more or less, antagonise the growing tendency to excessive territorial accumulation in few hands, and close the widening chasm which separates great wealth from toil and poverty, with possible results of serious interest to the thoughtful student of the history of the decline of empires.

I have no space to speak of one of the most remarkable of our special institutions—the Irish Convict system. Nor is this needful. It has gained the applause of Europe; and obtains continually larger and more cordial acceptance, in England. Its great principles of individualised discipline during imprisonment, progressive reformation through the varying stages of it, and protective supervision at the close, are working, everywhere, the best results. And I am glad to learn that the Irish Refuge for fallen women finds itself reproduced in the great English towns. I shall say no more of assimilation, in this respect, especially as the subject will be more fitly considered in another section; but, feeling strongly its importance, I would repeat the statement of an opinion which I uttered before, at our Dublin meeting,—that the entire of the prison arrangements of Ireland should be conducted on the same principle and controlled by the same authority. The reasons for amalgamating the county and the convict systems are patent in the increased economy, efficiency, and completeness which the amalgamation would certainly afford; and we are encouraged to attempt it promptly, by the wonderful diminution of offences, which is a fortunate charac-

teristic of our social state. Our gaols are comparatively empty. We may easily bring them under one central government, and so approach a solution of a much-vexed problem. The circumstances of Ireland were especially favourable for the great experiment of the convict system. They are no less favourable for testing the possibility, and discovering the means, of establishing a general uniformity in prison discipline.

There are other portions of our Irish law and procedure to which I would willingly advert, as illustrating our national progress, and suggestive, in some respects, of beneficial assimilation, *e.g.*, our Bankruptcy Code, and our Resident Magistracy and Police; but I must forbear further trespass on your patience. I shall only say, as to our Court of Bankruptcy, that, in the very confused and unsettled condition of the English system, it may not be unworthy of intelligent examination. The Act of 1857, by which it was established, was prepared, with great care and labour, by a combination of the best legal capacity and the largest mercantile experience of this country. It has worked, ever since, satisfactorily for our local interests; and, though it may be improved, especially by an extension of jurisdiction, according to the English plan, to the affairs of the non-trading classes, great caution should be used in accommodating it to that plan, so far as such a change would alter the action of the Official Assignee and the regulation of the Traders' arrangements, which have been proved to suit the circumstances, and satisfy the wants, of the commerce of Ireland.

I have left myself no time, even if I had the disposition, to discuss, at any length, the legislation of the past Session, and its bearings on the special subjects of our inquiries here, according to the example of some of my predecessors. But, in truth, I do not regret that it is so. Save in one

great Act, that legislation has had no very remarkable results. The mighty birth of the Reform Bill—of good or evil portent as men variously regard it, and time may shape its unseen issues—exhausted the forces of the labouring Parliament, and left it barren of other fruit. Bankruptcy Reform has made no progress; the Criminal Law is nearly as it was, with some little change as to the costs of prosecutions; the Law of Evidence has had no improvement; the Extradition Act has not been mentioned in the House of Commons; and the guards against electoral corruption which may be found desirable, when millionaires come to operate on the enfranchised masses, remain to be devised. New laws affect the relations of master and servant, the conduct of auctions, the jurisdiction of the English Admiralty, and some other things of local and personal importance, but without much general interest. Ireland has, at last, had the system of her Court of Chancery assimilated to that of the English Court; and her Court of Admiralty fashioned, also, according to English precedent, —relieved of its exclusive character, opened to the whole profession, and endowed with larger powers and greater facilities of profitable action. With our progress in these instances, and in others, we have every reason to be gratified.

The revision of the English Statute Law proceeds with vigour and success, and has been advanced, in the past Session, by the publication of, perhaps, the longest Act which ever went through Parliament.

I lament that this needful work has not yet been effectually begun for Ireland. Competent lawyers, I am aware, have proceeded a considerable way in the revision of the Ante-Union Statutes; but their labours have not seen the light, and no portion of them has received the sanction of the Legislature. In this matter, there should be no more

delay. The Irish revision should proceed, *pari passu*, with the English. The want is as great in the one case as in the other; and, in both, quick progress is indispensable.

Speaking thus, with regret, of the delay in the revision of our Statute-Book, on the other hand, I am glad to be able to congratulate you on the successful commencement of the publication of the ancient Laws of Ireland. Many whom I address may not be aware that, in the year 1852, a Commission was charged with the duty of procuring the transcription and translation of those Laws. So long ago as 1782, Edmund Burke conferred upon his native country one of the many benefits for which we owe gratitude to that great Irishman, by obtaining for the library of Trinity College the Seabright MSS., collected originally by Mr. Lhwyd, and urging that the originals should be published, with a literal translation into Latin or English. Time passed; and only at the end of seventy years was the work which he contemplated really begun. The Commissioners were very fortunate in securing the services of Eugene O'Curry and John O'Donovan, who combined, with original knowledge of the Irish tongue, a sound training in Celtic scholarship under Dr. Petrie, in the offices of the Ordnance Survey. Their task was one of infinite labour and difficulty. It was deemed almost impossible of performance by Charles O'Conor, of Belanagare, and other competent Irish linguists of the last century. But they pursued it steadily; and had brought it almost to completion, when they were taken from us, in the prime of their rare faculties, leaving none behind accomplished like themselves. They had transcribed all the legal MSS. in Irish, existing within these kingdoms in seventeen large volumes, and they had executed translations filling twenty-five — twelve by Dr. O'Donovan, and thirteen by Professor O'Curry. Since they died, we

have received the first fruits of their great labour in the publication of the *Senchus Mor*, or "Great Law Compilation," as O'Curry translates the title,* which deals with the Irish procedure by Athgabhail or Distress. It is of equal interest to the jurist and the historian.

The Brehon Code had prevailed in Ireland for ages before the coming of St. Patrick. Like our Common Law, it was not composed of written statutes, but of the decisions of the Brehons—the judges of the land at that remote period; and when the people had been brought within the Christian fold, we learn that the Apostle of Ireland did for them a service like that which the Roman emperors effected for the world, shortly before and after the same period. In the middle of the fifth century, at his instance, with the aid of native chiefs and learned persons, the ancient judgments were reduced to order. Their Pagan character was taken from them, and they were adapted to the uses of a Christian nation. The introduction to the Senchus† tells us:—"What did not clash with the Word of God in the written law and the New Testament, and with the consciences of the believers, was confirmed in the laws of the Brehons by Patrick, and by the ecclesiastics and chieftains of Erin; for the law of nature had been right, except as to the Faith and its obligations and the harmony of the Church and People. And this is the Senchus." It seems a little startling to contemplate St. Patrick in the character of a Law Reformer and the framer of a Code; but the evidence that the Senchus Mor was formed in his time and under his direction is very persuasive. It bore, through many ages, the title of "Cain Patraic," or Patrick's Law; and Professor O'Curry, whose opinion on such a point is of high authority, declares his belief "that the recorded account of this great

* Lectures, 17. † Senchus Mor., 17.

revision of the body of the laws of Erin is as fully entitled to confidence as any other well-authenticated fact in ancient history." *

For more than a thousand years this Brehon Code settled the social relations and governed the conduct of the Irish people. Not until the reign of James I., had the English Law supremacy in Ireland. Not until 1619, did the use of Irish cease in legal writings, as we gather from a most curious collection of deeds, agreements, awards, bonds, and other specimens of conveyancing, in the native language, published by the late Mr. Hardiman, in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.† The old Brehon system, reaching back into remote antiquity, thus operated as a living power down till comparatively recent times; and it is worthy of our careful study, not only as exhibiting much of the character and institutions of a nation whose history remains to be written, but, also, in its connexion with the origin and peculiarities of the early Jurisprudence of Britain and all the Celtic tribes. The volume which has appeared, and the others which will, I trust, rapidly follow it,‡ contain most minute and detailed provisions. They are full of indications as to the arts and manufactures and commercial transactions of ancient Ireland. They prescribe the duties and the relations of the prince, the judge, the advocate, the chieftain, the farmer, and all manner of persons. They manifest the principles and peculiar notions which guided the Irish in their dealings with the land, and which, to this hour, have not ceased to operate, through dim tradition, on our actual state. They answer conclusively, by their complicated and precise arrangements for the prevention of wrong and the doing of justice, the ignorant misrepresentations which have long been current in English historical

* O'Curry's Lectures, p. 17. † Antiquities, vol. xv., p. 1.
‡ Note C.

literature, representing the old Irish Celt as "dwelling in wattled hovels and turf-built sheelings;"* "without clerks, registries, or records."† They present a picture, far more reliable than can be found in the meagre and fable-clouded tales of ancient chronicles, of Celtic law and life in the distant,—even the pre-historic,—times from which we, certainly, derive these venerable Institutes.

My friend, Dr. Ferguson,‡ has published an admirable paper, full of ingenuity and suggestiveness, "On the rudiments of the Common Law, discoverable in the published portions of the Senchus Mor!"§ and I have no doubt that speculations and researches such as his, in reference to the entire body of the Brehon Code, will be productive of very rich results.

To the study of that ancient system which, for so many ages, held sway in Ireland, some of us, children of the soil, will be attracted, as by "ancestral voices" from the buried past. And for all the learned of Europe, who have interest in the history of Jurisprudence and the archæology of Law, it must be the subject of intelligent curiosity and careful investigation. I can say no more of it here; but, having said so much, I should be untrue to my own feelings and convictions if I did not seize the occasion to add the expression of my great regret, that an end has been put to the study of the Irish language in those hospitable halls which are opening to receive us.‖ You will find in them the amplest appliances for scientific and literary teaching; but, amongst their accomplished professors, there is not one to give instruction in the ancient tongue, which is still

* Palgrave. † Cox. ‡ Now Sir Samuel Ferguson.

§ Trans. R. I. Academy, xxiv. p. 83.

‖ The Queen's College, Belfast.

sounding, with melodious sweetness and expressive power, amongst the glens and mountains of the fair county in which we are assembled. There is not one to help in training future O'Currys and O'Donovans; so that the remnants of our old literature, scattered in mouldering manuscripts through the libraries of Europe—from Copenhagen to the Vatican—may be saved from destruction,—as these Brehon Laws have been,—and made available for the honour of Ireland, and the benefit of the world. When the Queen's Colleges were established, each of them had a small endowment for a professorship of Irish. In two of them, that endowment has been diverted to other purposes, and the professorships are abolished. As to the third, the same course is contemplated.

The time was strangely chosen for this questionable act, when Englishmen, such as Mr. Mathew Arnold and Professor Morley, are labouring, with generous enthusiasm, to assert the dignity, and celebrate the achievements, of the Celtic race; when Germany produces an unmatched Irish grammar, and Continental scholars, recognising the wisdom of the counsel of Leibnitz,* who urged the cultivation of the Irish language—*Linguæ Hibernicæ*—for the general purposes of European literature, find, in the pursuit of Celtic studies, the necessary and efficient means of advancing ethnological and philological inquiry.

Irishmen have been too justly reproached as "*incuriosi suorum*"; but that reproach should not have found confirmation in a change so needless, so injurious, so little in harmony with the spirit of a self-respecting people, and the tendency of cultivated thought, throughout the world. I trust that the publication of the Brehon Laws, and the attention it must attract to Celtic Literature and Juris-

* Op. iv. 131. Note D.

prudence, may contribute to make plain, and undo quickly, the mischief of this retrogressive step.

One necessary word before I close. I would not be misconceived. I have stated my approval of the principle of assimilation, when applied on certain conditions and within certain limits; and I have sought to show that Ireland has some special institutions, which should be held in view for the purpose of its application in other portions of the United Kingdom. But, by assimilation, I do not mean absorption. I do not regard identity of laws as involving unity of administration. I confess my intolerance of schemes which have been advocated, even by Irishmen, for imperialising our Irish tribunals; attracting our Bar to English Courts; disposing of great Irish causes there; leaving to us narrow jurisdictions and a debased profession; and making the capital of England the legal metropolis of Ireland also. If results, like these, were to follow assimilation of the legal systems of the two countries, I should lament it as a grave calamity. Ireland and Scotland, too, have suffered enough from the action of excessive centralisation. They both endure many of the inevitable evils of a provincial state. They both have plain interest in resisting the further progress of those evils; and they can best resist it, by maintaining such local institutions as may counteract the tendency of the elements of national life to withdraw themselves from the extremities of an empire, and gather at the centre of power and wealth, where success is worth the trouble of achievement and merit is sure to seek distinction and reward.

We should labour, in all proper cases, to assimilate the laws of the three kingdoms, giving, for that purpose, from every district, what light and help we can reciprocally furnish; but we must maintain, for all, the integrity of their independent judicatures, in the assurance that they will

not less enjoy the benefits of a common Code, if it do not aim to subordinate any one to any other of them, or unduly exalt a part, at the expense of exhaustion and depression to the rest. On this matter I can speak freely, as I speak without personal interest. In my position, men bid farewell, not always joyously, to hope and fortune; and I am not conscious of self-seeking or any indirectness when I conclude with the warning counsel, that for Ireland, at least, it is essential to maintain a high Judiciary and an educated Bar, if she would preserve the informed opinion, the productive energy, and the public spirit without which a People stagnates and sinks into contempt.

NOTES.

NOTE A.—p. 58.

Perhaps the highest instance of skill and success, in this respect, which modern times have produced is the Act for the Abolition of Fines and Recoveries, framed, as is well known, by the late Mr. Brodie. He had to deal with a vast and complicated system originating in a judicial device for disposing of entailed land, and based upon legal fictions and obsolete modes of procedure: a system, which, for centuries, had afforded the only means of unfettering settled estates, or conveying the property of married women, and which had become so inveterately embedded in the whole structure of our real property law, that some of the greatest lawyers believed that the utmost which could be done was to strip it of some useless forms and technicalities, leaving the principle of its working untouched. To abrogate it entirely they conceived to be impossible, and dangerous, if possible. Yet this has been done by the Act to which I refer, and a new method, simple, rational, and adapted to modern ideas substituted; not with the rashness of sloth, but with a perfect prevision

in detail of the objects to be effected and the difficulties to be overcome: —and this, in such clear legal language and with such thoroughness and completeness, as scarcely to have left a difficulty for litigation to resolve. The Succession Duty Act prepared by Mr. King presents another conspicuous instance of skill in drafting.

NOTE B.—p. 66.

I would reproduce, as giving weight and authority to the suggestions of my address, the following words spoken at a former meeting of the Social Science Association, by one whose opinions must command the respect which is due to the greatest judicial eminence, and the highest and purest personal character:—"I wish to see an enlarged view of jurisprudence existing in this country. I am told often, 'Look at Lord Mansfield.' He was, no doubt, a man of large views; but he came here from that country where the Roman civil law is in force, and is the principal basis of their judicial system, with which he was, no doubt, thoroughly acquainted. Sir William Grant and Lord Brougham, and many others, have also, doubtless, acquired for themselves a sound and enlarged knowledge of the civil law. But look at the many who never acquired anything of the kind. I take shame to myself in saying, that almost up to the time that I was placed upon the bench—because the moment you enter into Parliament or public life you have no leisure for such studies—almost up to the time of my being on the bench, I was singularly behind hand in my knowledge of jurisprudence, compared with what every sound lawyer should be. You want an accomplished class of jurists such as exists on the Continent, not in order that we should adopt the laws which prevail in other countries, less free than our own, but to enable us, at least, to take an enlarged view of our own law—to see where general views are applicable to our own particular purpose, and, in other words, never to attempt legislation, until we are convinced and decided in our own minds of the general principles on which legislation should proceed."—*Address on Jurisprudence*, by Vice-Chancellor Sir W. P. Wood, delivered before the Social Science Association at Bradford. *Transactions for* 1859, p. 73.

NOTE C.—p. 83.

The Commissioners, in their Third Report (16th January, 1861), p. 5, say that they have decided on completing the publication of the Senchus Mor; but, as to the residue of the ancient laws of Ireland, "the nature

of their ulterior proceedings has not been fully determined on." They indicate two possible courses—to deposit the MSS. in some public library, for the purposes of reference; or to print them in the imperfect state in which they have been left by O'Curry and O'Donovan. I trust that the publication of the manuscripts and translations will be carried out with all convenient speed, even though their condition be less satisfactory than it would have been, if we had not prematurely lost the eminent scholars by whom they were executed. The object of the Commission would be substantially, to a large extent, defeated if they were buried in any library. In my judgment, such an abortive result of so large an expenditure of public money and intellectual labour should not be permitted by Parliament or the country. The MSS. should be put into the best possible condition, attainable under the unfortunate circumstances, and committed for use and further correction, in a published form, to the scholarship of the world.

NOTE D.—p. 85.

These are the words of Leibnitz :—

"Postremo, ad perficiendam vel certé valde promovendam Literaturam Celticam diligentius Linguæ Hibernicæ studium adjungendum censeo, ut Lloydius egregie facere cœpit. Nam uti alibi jam admonui, quemadmodum Angli fuere colonia Saxonum, et Britanni emissio veterum Celtorum, Gallorum, Cimbrorum; ita Hiberni sunt propago antiquorum Britanniæ habitatorum, colonis Celticis Cimbricisque nonnullis, et ut ita dicam mediis, anteriorum. Itaque, ut ex Anglicis linguæ veterum Saxonum, et ex Cambricis veterum Gallorum, ita ex Hibernicis vetustiorum adhuc Celtarum Germanorumque; et ut generaliter dicam accolarum Oceani Britannicé cismarinorum antiquitates illustrantur. Et si ultra Hiberniam esset aliqua insula Celtici sermonis, ejus filo in multo adhuc antiquiora duceremur."

INTERNATIONAL LAW.

International Law.—Conference at Antwerp: 1877.

[The Annual Conference of the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations, which was held at Antwerp, in 1877, was opened by the following Address.]

IT has been my fortune, on several occasions, in my own country, according to the usage there, to make somewhat lengthened opening addresses at meetings like this. A different custom has, so far, prevailed in the society over which I have now the honour to be President; and I have no desire to depart from it.

The rules of our association are designed to make its proceedings practical and business-like, by minimising the length of speeches, and encouraging brevity and precision in debate. It avoids local excitements and temporary politics. It aims to deal with principles of universal application, in a calm and judicial spirit; and to you, who have come from many and distant lands to assist at its deliberations, and who can afford too little time for the discussion of the various subjects which press on your attention, it would be idle to offer observations which might be suitable to a popular assembly. I shall only trouble you with such words as need to be spoken, at this stage of its history, with reference to the origin and progress of the Association.

It is a young society. It had its origin in America. Whilst the Washington Treaty and the Geneva Arbitration suggested to many minds the possible advantages which

might accrue to mankind from the formation of an International Code and International Tribunals, it was conceived that publicists, jurists, statesmen, and leading commercial men might be got to take friendly counsel together, and endeavour, with the aid of varied learning and large experience, to bring into harmony, at least to some extent, the laws and usages which—as distinguished from municipal arrangements—mutually affect the several families of our race in their inevitable transactions with each other: and might so diminish the occasions of contention and promote relations of amity between them. Many of the foremost men of the United States took cordial interest in the project, and our late honoured general secretary, Dr. Miles, came on a mission to Europe, to submit it for consideration in the chief capitals of the Old World. He was everywhere received with respect and approval. Persons of high distinction, in Germany, France, Holland, England, and other countries, concurred that an effort should be made in the direction to which he pointed. So sustained, he returned to America and communicated the results of his successful action; and, thereupon, the Association was constituted by a number of American gentlemen, some of whose names have won a wide celebrity in Europe.

They desired that the first conference should be held in New York; but many, who had joined the Association in Europe, could not undertake the journey; and it was ultimately resolved that the meeting should he convened in Brussels, where, accordingly, it took place, on the 10th of October, 1873. It was signally successful. Representative men, of established reputation, as jurists and politicians, attended from France, Germany, Italy, Holland, England, and America. The rules of the Society were framed; and its discussions and resolutions gave fair promise of the

practical capacity and the public usefulness, of which, I may now confidently say, its transactions have afforded indisputable proofs.

In the succeeding years, it has assembled in Geneva, at the Hague, and in the city of Bremen. In all, it has met the most cordial reception. The interest in its proceedings has steadily augmented, and the number of its associates has proportionately increased. Its organisation, as I have intimated, is not popular; and its inquiries, although they concern matters of high moment to humanity, are often dry and difficult, and cannot be expected to excite or amuse the popular mind. But thinking men show a growing appreciation of them; and its members who, at the Hague, were reported, in 1875, not to exceed ninety, now, as our secretary informs me, number five hundred and thirty.

So much for its progress. Let me say something of the character of its work. Its founders, in America, were apparently at first moved to action by the desire to apply and extend the principle asserted in the Geneva Arbitration, and secure the peaceful settlement of disputes between Sovereign States, so far as might be, by the creation of International Tribunals, regulated and controlled by an International Code. That was their dominant idea. The time was propitious; the example was encouraging; and the design to assist—as they said by their original resolution—"in substituting the arbitrament of reason and justice for the arbitrament of the sword," was a noble one. But the Association wisely resolved to deal with other pressing questions of law and usage, affecting individual interests throughout the world; and the exigencies of the time, and the greater possibility of discussing them with immediate and practical advantage, have fixed its attention mainly on those questions during its several Conferences. It has not neglected the consideration of a public International Code,

for which one of its strongest committees has been appointed; but I shall best indicate the value of its aims and the nature of its proceedings, by pointing to its action in some of the matters which, at present, greatly occupy the attention and inspire the efforts of the members of various communities, who desire to improve the condition of commerce throughout the world.

For many years, there has been a growing conviction among jurists and mercantile people of intelligence, that there should be a common Code and a uniform usage with reference to Bills of Exchange for the nations of Europe and the states of America. The advantage of such a Code and such a usage, if they could be established, does not appear to me to need exposition in an assembly of reasonable men. The complications, the difficulties, the errors, and the losses, which arise from the want of them, are of every day's experience in commercial affairs.

That the change is practicable seems nearly as plain as that it would be of inestimable advantage. All nations, in which such instruments are employed for the purposes of commerce, have a common interest in making them, by a simple, speedy, and universally intelligible procedure, promptly negotiable, and easily convertible. A great American jurist has truly said, that "the Jurisprudence which regulates Bills of Exchange can hardly be deemed to consist of the mere municipal regulations of any one country. It may, with far more propriety, be deemed to be founded upon and to embody the usages of merchants in various commercial countries, and the general principles, *ex æquo et bono*, as to the rights, duties, and obligations of the parties derivable from those usages and from the principles of natural law applicable thereto." Those principles are not bounded, in their operation, by the limits of any land. They are equally applicable to all; and furnish

the means of a profitable concert in which all may find unqualified benefit.

But, we are not left to speculate on possibilities. To some extent, the work, which seems so desirable and so useful, has been already done. The various states of Germany had various laws affecting Bills of Exchange, and the variety was found to be intolerably mischievous. Under the auspices of the Prussian Government, a Conference was assembled at Leipsic, and, after elaborate discussion, framed a uniform project for all the states, which was adopted by the confederate Assembly of 1849; has ever since been successfully in action; and, at this moment, arranges, on common principles, the commercial dealings of seventy-nine millions of people. Austria and Hungary accepted it, and were followed by Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, and Servia. Through all these countries, so diverse in race, customs, and habits, one law and one usage have been found satisfactory and sufficient.

In like manner, the provisions of the French Code as to Bills of Exchange have been adopted by Spain and some of the South American states, and have worked successfully, in spite of the great social differences between those countries.

A joint Commission has lately been nominated by the Governments of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, for the purpose of preparing a common Code as to Bills of Exchange for those kingdoms. The Presidents of its three Sections are members of this Association: Judge Klein, of the Supreme Court of Denmark; M. Bergstrom, of Stockholm, late Minister of the Interior; and Professor Aubert, of Christiania.

With such encouragement to action in the nature of the thing and the experience of nations, the Association set itself earnestly to promote, through all commercial

countries, the assimilation of law which has been accomplished in so many. It formed a Committee, by which a circular was prepared, embodying a series of queries, for the purpose of obtaining information and eliciting opinion. Of this, several thousand copies were distributed through the cities of Europe and America to eminent jurists, bankers, and merchants, and the more important Chambers of Commerce. The circular stated the chief points of conflict in the law and practice of the various communities, and invited answers to the questions which were submitted, paragraph by paragraph. Prompt and full replies were largely returned. They were summarised in a Report which was presented to the Conference at the Hague, and thereupon a Commission was nominated, including representatives of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, and the United States, to consider and report on the principles on which an International Code should be based. This Commission has zealously prosecuted its labours, dealing with the mass of information which had been thus accumulated; and they have had a successful issue in a statement of those principles, drafted originally by Dr. Borchardt, of Berlin, and Dr. Jaques, of Vienna, considered deliberately, at many meetings, by their colleagues of various nationalities, and finally adopted by the Conference, at Bremen, in 1876. Of the character and value of that statement I do not need to speak. It is in the hands of the members of the Association, along with an excellent paper from our efficient secretary, Mr. Jencken. Its principles have been substantially accepted by the Swedish, Norwegian and Danish Commission.

As your President, I invited the attention of the English Foreign Office to that Report, and laid before Lord Derby all the materials for judgment collected by the Association.

Those materials have also been submitted to the Ministry of Justice at Berlin and the Prime Minister of Austria. I have reason to believe that their importance has been fully appreciated: and thus real progress has been made towards a joint international action for the establishment of a common system of law. In this matter, the work of the Association has been fruitful, as it has been earnest and persisting. It has aimed at nothing which is not, at once, reasonably feasible and of manifest advantage. It will be, I trust, continued until its objects shall have been accomplished, and a great advance secured in the formation of a general commercial Code.

Scarcely, if at all, of less importance than the project of assimilation to which I have been referring is that of a like assimilation, in the matter of General Average. That matter has necessarily been, from time immemorial, of deep interest to maritime countries. Hundreds of years before the coming of our Saviour, the Rhodian law regulated it in the seas of Europe. The Roman Code dealt with it —as with most other subjects of legislation—with a lucid order and an exhaustive fulness, which furnish guidance to thought and action in nearly all the controversies about it, between trading communities even in our own time. The provisions of that marvellous Code had force throughout the Empire, and controlled the commerce of the world. They were lost for centuries; but when the Crusades had stimulated the intercourse of nations, the necessities of society produced inferior substitutes, with less completeness and less authority, in the Rolls of Oleron, the laws of Wisby, the Code of Pisa, the Consolado del Mare, and the Guidon de la Mer. They dealt with Average; as did the various Ordonnances of Holland, France, and Spain.

In later times, the subject has occupied, more or less, the attention of the jurists, merchants, shipowners, and

insurers of all nations. The differences which prevail between them have been felt to be most detrimental to the interests of commerce. They involve grievous confusion and frequent injustice. They induce, continually, loss of time and loss of money, and promote misunderstandings and contentions of the most mischievous kind. The contributions to General Average, being arranged according to the systems established in the several places in which the cargo may be separated from the ship, and those systems being founded on diverse and inconsistent rules and principles, the difficulties accruing to the assured and the underwriter—to the master of the vessel and the owners of the goods—to every one, in short, concerned in such transactions, are annoying and injurious in a high degree. The advantage which would arise from removing those difficulties by an international agreement is, I believe, universally recognised; but the realisation of that advantage has been delayed by many obstacles. The German and the English law are in serious conflict. The Continental nations do not adopt the rules of the Conference of York. The "common safety" principle is opposed to the "common benefit" principle. The traditions and customs of the maritime states are not easily modified or abandoned. And yet, I am sure that they all desire an assimilation and uniformity which, to all of them, would result in most material benefit.

So strong has been this desire, that three several Conferences have been held in Great Britain, and attended by numerous delegates from many nations. The first occurred at Glasgow, in the year 1860, and had for its presidents Lord Brougham and Lord Neaves. The second took place in 1862, under the presidency of Sir Travers Twiss; and the third in 1864, at York, the Lord Chief Baron of England being the President. Of those meetings I have only time to say, that they were very valuable in collecting

facts and formulating opinion; but they failed to secure that union of thought and effort which might have issued in a uniformity of law.

The interest in the subject has in nowise abated: and I am happy to say that it was taken up energetically at the Bremen Conference. Able papers were read by Mr. Hach and Mr. Schneider, and a Committee was appointed to report upon it, which they have done with great success. Your Council have circulated their Report, with copies of the York Rules of 1864, as offering a basis of discussion; and I am informed that anxiety has been manifested in the various maritime countries to unite in reaching an agreement, as to the principles on which an international law of General Average may properly be framed. Why should they not? I know how difficult it is to break with old traditions and abandon old usages. But moderation, forbearance, and mutual concession accomplish great things; and the rule "to give and take" may rightly govern, where all have so plain an interest in reaching a unanimous conclusion.

I am glad to say, that, through my Right Hon. Friend, Mr. Goschen, lately the First Lord of the Admiralty in England, I was enabled to bring this subject and the action of the Association upon it, under the consideration of the Committee of Lloyd's, of which he is the Chairman; and that that most important body has delegated three of its members to attend this Conference. Elaborate reports on General Average have been received from Sweden, Germany, and the United States; and there has been much activity in the movement amongst our members in Austria, France, Holland, and throughout the world. I believe they are generally represented here, and I repeat the expression of my hope that your deliberations may be so conducted—with mutual forbearance and consideration, and an honest purpose to reach a fair agreement—as to produce a

practical result of real service to the great interests of commercial nations.

Keeping in mind my promise to be brief, and believing that, in the simple statement I have made, I have sufficiently accomplished my purpose of indicating the nature of the objects of the Association and the methods it applies to attain them, I shall go into no further detail with reference to the other grave questions which have been dealt with in its Conferences and Committees—I shall only say a word as to two or three of them.

International Patent Law has received great attention from a Committee, of which Mr. Hinde Palmer, Q.C., was the first Chairman, and over which Mr. Brown, member of our Imperial Parliament, now presides. It has produced two masterly Reports, and made its influence beneficially felt in the improvement of a measure lately adopted by the German Reichstag, as I hope it will do, during the progress of a Bill, with the same objects, introduced in England by the Attorney-General. Another Committee has been engaged in inquiries as to the laws of Copyright of various countries; and the possibility and means of introducing an international Coinage have had much consideration.

As I have already said, whilst matters of immediate and practical importance have mainly been discussed, Public International Law has not been neglected by the Association. It has not lost itself in the cloud-land of speculative thought, or wandered far afield in search of a Utopia; but it has been busy with subjects of substantial interest, in that department.

At the instance of Professor Sheldon Amos, the vexed question of Maritime Capture has been raised and debated with great ability; and the Report of a Committee upon it, under his presidency, will, I believe, be submitted to the Conference.

The principles of Extradition and International Criminal Law were largely investigated at the Hague: and have received much elucidation from the reports of distinguished Dutch jurists, of whom, and others, a Committee was constituted there.

International arbitration, as a means of settling International disputes, has been the subject of deliberations, earnest and careful in proportion to its importance; and the Law of collisions at sea, originated by the Board of Trade in England, and adopted by other maritime countries, which has not been found, in some respects, satisfactory, has been examined, with a view to its improvement, by a Committee organised under the direction of an eminent American Judge.

In these, and cognate questions, the work of the last twelve months, conducted with sedulous attention, and assisted by an extensive correspondence, has been effective, and gives fair promise for the future. The Council reports to us, that the year 1876–77 "has been one of greater and more fruitful activity than any other in the annals of the Association."

In these various ways, good service has been done, and valuable knowledge accumulated for use hereafter. But if the Association had produced no other advantage than that derived from the assembling of men of various tongues and nations, with a view to advance, by their united action, the general well-being, it would have been entitled to the approval of every friend of peace and progress in the world. The very coming together, from distant places, and often at much personal sacrifice, of so many persons, largely engaged in professional and commercial pursuits, is warrant, at once, of their real interest in its objects, and of their capacity, in their several spheres, to promote those objects with intelligence and efficiency. Heretofore, it

would not have been possible that such meetings as that which I address could have been convened, year after year, in the various centres of culture and energy through Europe. The conquests of science have offered no more precious advantage to our race than may be found in that personal communion of the inhabitants of far-divided lands which may induce, amongst them, mutual trust, mutual respect, and mutual helpfulness; which may destroy national antipathies,—the noxious growth of ignorant isolation;—substitute in their stead cordial alliances for the common benefit; and so promote that "Federation of the World" towards which, although the selfish instincts and ungoverned passions of humanity may delay its progress, and, possibly, prevent for ever its full accomplishment, good men should strive with all their power.

"Nobody," said the late lamented Prince Consort of England, "who has paid any attention to the peculiar features of our present era will doubt, for a moment, that we are living at a period of most wonderful transition, which tends rapidly to accomplish that great end to which all History points,—the realisation of the unity of mankind;—not a unity which breaks down the limits and levels the peculiar characteristics of the different nations of the earth, but rather a unity the result and product of those very national varieties and antagonistic qualities."

Freedom of Intercourse, Freedom of Trade, the Steam Engine, and the Telegraph, are more and more promoting that unity every year of our existence; and if this Association can advance it, even a little, by harmonising the relations of Commerce, increasing the uniformity of Law, and making nations understand the value of reciprocity in kindly feeling and friendly offices, we shall not have laboured altogether in vain.

Before I conclude, let me express the pleasure we all

experience in accepting the hospitality of the Chief Magistrate and the people of this ancient and noble City—renowned, as it has been for ages, in Commerce and Art, and, when need was, in War. Holding a foremost place amongst the trading communities of Europe, it has kept itself well abreast with all economic and intellectual progress: and in the celebration which has just concluded—in honour of a Painter who filled the earth with his labour and his fame*—it has revived the memory of its artistic greatness, by proclaiming, with generous ostentation, that the city of the Scheldt, like the city of the Arno, has boasted many an illustrious citizen on whose tomb may worthily be written the famous epitaph:

Tanto nomini nullum par eulogium!

Our assemblage, in this place, has a peculiar fitness. The most important subject of our inquiries will probably be the assimilation of the law of General Average; and nowhere could it be more appropriately discussed. Historians doubt whether the modern system of marine insurance was organised in the Italian cities or in the ports of the North Sea. But there is persuasive evidence that it was established in Bruges, in 1310, under a charter of the Count of Flanders. Although it may have been a graft on the ancient Rhodian sea-laws, the customs of merchants, with reference to it, were first reduced to legal order in the North of Europe by Flemish traders at Bruges—at that time the great *entrepôt* of an ample commerce—"the London of 500 years ago." Antwerp succeeded to the maritime supremacy, and distinguished itself by codifying its usages on questions of General Average, so far back as 1609. You will find them lately published in the "Customs

* Rubens.

of the Duchy of Brabant," by M. de Lenge, the President of the Cour de Cassation; and those old customs should not escape your attention when you are considering the formation of a modern law.

Do not such historical recollections curiously connect the present and the past and make our meeting of happy augury? And may we not hope that its successful issue, in promoting an auspicious concord amongst commercial nations, will be recorded in an honourable page of the annals of Antwerp, as having been fortunately accomplished here? *

* The result of this Conference was of a memorable kind. It was attended by representatives of nearly all the Maritime States of Europe; and, after lengthened consideration, they formulated their views as to the principles on which an International Law and Practice of General Average should be founded in "The York and Antwerp Rules," which have had wide acceptance and application amongst mercantile communities, and have largely assimilated their action in a matter of very vital moment to the commerce of the world.

ECONOMIC AND STATISTICAL INQUIRY.

Economic and Statistical Inquiry.

[The British Association for the Advancement of Science met in Belfast in 1874. The Statistical and Economic Section was opened by this Address.]

I AM glad to have the honour of presiding over such an assembly in a town to which I am attached, not merely as the place of my birth, but, far more, by life-long associations of interest, duty, and affection. I rejoice that it is again distinguished by the presence of so many men illustrious in every walk of science, who come to take counsel together as to the conquests of human thought and the extension of the bounds of knowledge; and I may be permitted to say, that Belfast, in its industrial eminence, its honourable traditions, and its intellectual progress, is not unworthy to receive them.

As to its varied industries, they may more fitly be considered by other sections of the Association, in their connexion with those branches of Science,—such as Chemistry, Natural Philosophy or Mechanics,—with which they have more direct concern. But the Statistician and Economist, without trespassing on the province of any of those branches, has relations with them all,—aiming to test the value of their results, and make them practically conducive to the general well-being. Thus, when you note the wonderful progress of this community—increasing in population from 37,000 in 1821 to 174,000 in 1871, and

possessing multitudes of palatial manufactories where, within my own memory, there was exactly one,—you may be led, legitimately, to consider its causes, its consequences and the means of its extension. You may find food for profitable speculation in examining the industrial efforts which continue that progress, without pause or faltering; and, perhaps, amongst them, not the least remarkable is that which has established great iron foundries, winning for their work the highest honours in the industrial competitions which have occupied the capitals of Europe from time to time, for a quarter of a century, and commanding orders from the most distant regions of the globe. Or you may examine, with equal interest, shipbuilding establishments which employ skilled artisans in thousands, send out scores of great vessels to traverse the Mediterranean, and bridge over the Atlantic; and have cultivated the special manufacture of long iron-decked ocean steamers, from the year 1861, when it was first begun, until they have produced the gigantic Britannic and Germanic, measured at 5,000 tons,—not surpassed, if they have been equalled, in any country,—and exhibiting improvements which are largely imitated in all ocean-going ships throughout the world. But, apart from its general industries, Belfast has peculiar claims on the good-will of this branch of the British Association.

It is nearly a quarter of a century since, at a former meeting of that Association, in this town, the place which I now fill was more fitly occupied by the late Archbishop Whately, whose services to Economic Science, as well in his own masterly publications as in the liberal energy with which he encouraged the study of it in Ireland, I need not eulogise before this assembly. On that occasion, there were not wanting able and instructed men to show that its principles had found acceptance here. Such men had been, already, active in the prosecution of those special inquiries,

which, in this section, it will be our business to pursue. In distant days, when Belfast was poor in material wealth and very limited in population, they had formed a speculative and literary society which did excellent work. They had also societies for the culture of natural science, and others which were useful in training young people for the encounters of public and professional life. And these, with great schools, which were the creation of the spirit and enterprise of private persons, tended to the remarkable advancement of individuals, and assisted in laying the foundations of that great prosperity,—the unaided growth of self-reliance and self-assertion,—which has so distinguished this community amongst the cities of the empire.

It was not strange that, with such antecedents, Belfast should have early moved in the new path of statistical inquiry; and, accordingly, long before the meeting to which I have alluded, it had established a Social Inquiry Society for the consideration of "Statistics, Political Economy, and Jurisprudence," which, in some particulars, remarkably anticipated the Social Science Association; and was, whilst it existed, very useful and efficient. And thus it came to pass that not the least distinguished of those who, in 1852, discussed the subjects peculiar to this section, in able papers, were inhabitants of Belfast, some still living, and some departed, who well maintained the intellectual reputation of their town. Subsequently, the Social Inquiry Society merged into the larger combination represented by the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland, which has laboured, and continues to labour, in the metropolis, with great and increasing success. It has dealt, in its published transactions, with almost every important economic question of the time: and has acted beneficially, by suggestion and argument, on the Irish legislation of later days.

It has operated, also, in spreading economic knowledge through the organisation of the Barrington Lectureships on Political Economy, which were founded by the munificence of a citizen of Dublin; and through which competent teachers afford the opportunity of instruction in the principles of the science, to the various towns of Ireland. But, although the capital of the Ulster Province has thus allowed its local society to be absorbed by one which is national, the spirit which originated both continues to prevail in Belfast; and it will gratify the members of this section to learn, that, in the month of January last, a committee was formed in it, to establish classes for the systematic teaching of Political Economy,—chiefly to young men engaged in mercantile pursuits. That committee is composed of the Chief Magistrate of the town,—to whose intelligence, energy, and affluent liberality, I am not surprised to learn, the British Association is largely indebted, —many of its leading merchants and professional men, and several eminent professors of the Queen's College. They were fortunate in obtaining the services of a highly informed economist; and the experiment has, so far, proved very satisfactory. The number of students on the roll has been 55:—3 of them alumni of the Queen's College; 7, apprentices of solicitors; and 45, engaged in commercial business. The average of attendance on the classes has been from 40 to 50. The committee may well be congratulated on the result of their novel and excellent effort, and the probable influence, in other communities, of the example they have given. Already, it has been imitated in Dublin. A class of young mercantile men has been formed in the metropolis for a similar purpose; and there is no reason why others should not pursue it there and in the provincial towns.

In connexion with this matter, I may mention that, very

recently, a considerable portion of the Barrington fund has been devoted to the instruction, in Political Economy, of schoolmasters, who are examined in its principles under the direction of the Barrington lecture committee of the Statistical Society; and, already, at an examination held on the 12th of May last, thirteen of them have obtained distinctions and certificates. The importance of such a movement, I need not dwell upon. It was anticipated by Archbishop Whately in the preparation of his "Easy Lessons on Money Matters" and other books; and, I find that the Labour and Capital Committee of the Social Science Association have endeavoured to induce the Educational Committee of the Privy Council in England to promote the teaching of economics in schools under its inspection; and have urged the importance of such teaching on the Lord President, for reasons, which, in the painful circumstances existing around us, may, not unprofitably, be repeated here. They declared their strong conviction, "that the hostility between Labour and Capital, arising from an erroneous belief that the interests of work-people and their employers, and of tenants and landlords, are opposed to each other—a belief leading, in manufactures, to attempts to impose harrowing restrictions regarding rates of wages, hours of labour, piece work, number of apprentices, and the use of machinery: and, in agriculture, to attempts to dictate the amount of rent to be exacted, and the selection of tenants; and leading, in its further stages, to strikes, lock-outs, rattenings, and threats of personal violence, and ultimately, in many cases, to murder itself—might have been mitigated, and in great measure prevented, had the people of this country, in their youth and before the mind could be warped, been instructed in the elements of Economic Science." And, on this and on other grounds, they prayed that no more time should be lost in taking

measures for gradually introducing this knowledge, "as a regular branch of education," into all schools to which the State gives pecuniary aid. Their demand was not fully conceded; but a beginning has been made in England as in Ireland, and the study has been introduced in some large schools, under efficient inspection. Individuals have made the same experiment in London and Glasgow,—eminently, Mr. Ellis and Mr. M'Clelland,—and with a success demonstrating the feasibility of imparting economic knowledge to young people, and making it full of attractive interest to them. We must all sincerely trust that the same success may attend the effort which has been so well begun in Ireland.

I do not think that I need apologise for these references to the connexion between economic and statistical science and the intellectual traditions of Belfast, for, whilst they prove that I am not unwarranted in asserting its worthiness to receive this Association, they must gratify especially those whom I address, as indicating a healthy interest in the prosecution of that science, and a continuing effort to assist its progress here.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of that progress to the best interests of every class of our society. The branch of knowledge with which we have to deal must have had an existence coëval with all advanced civilisation, although its name is new. It could never have been ignored by the historian, who properly marshalled facts and drew inferences as to the characters and actions of individuals, and the causes of the rise and fall of nations. It was necessarily cultivated by investigators of the working of commercial communities, and the influences which affect their prosperity or decay. It was implicitly recognised by all careful and conscientious statesmanship, in considering the events and circumstances which might require the main-

tenance of institutions, or warrant their abolition or reform. Those who fulfilled such functions were, consciously or unconsciously, statisticians and economists; although the recognition of statistics and economy, as distinct domains of human knowledge, and the cultivation of them, with exclusive attention, are comparatively of recent origin in the world of thought.

It is not, perhaps, matter of surprise that such newcomers have not always met a cordial reception; that the masters of exact science have sometimes looked askance on their looser and more speculative methods; and disputed their right to rank with the older scientific sisterhood. But the controversy was never of much practical account; and it has well-nigh ended.

The statistician and economist do not demonstrate; do not claim for their propositions the certainty of mathematics; are too much engaged with the shifting conditions of human existence, and the infinitely varied shades of human thought and feeling to pronounce, with rigid dogmatism, as to the course to be adopted, in all the varying circumstances which concern the wealth of nations and the social interests of mankind.

But, nevertheless, they are entitled to call their labours scientific, if science be needed to deal with subjects and educe results of the last importance to our race; and to accomplish this by drawing, from facts rightly ascertained, lucidly classified and profoundly considered, conclusions of permanent truth and wide application for the government of human conduct and the increase of human happiness.

The reign of Law is not bounded by the physical universe. Its vigilant power is not exhausted when the planets have been kept in their courses and the earth is made bountiful for the maintenance of man. As the material creation, assuredly, did not owe its harmony and beauty to a for-

tuitous concourse of atoms, so the humanity, to whose needs it has such a marvellous adaptation, has not been left to be the sport of chance, stumbling through the ages in blind disorder and hopeless desertion by the Infinite Power which called it into being. There is a moral government which "shapes our ends," pervading the apparent chaos of motive and action, and making the liberty which belongs to us, as individuals, subordinate itself, with a felicity as admirable as it is incomprehensible, to the promotion of the universal good.

Three millions of free and responsible beings constitute the population of London,—each having his own idiosyncrasy and power to act in independent isolation,—but all overruled and subdued by an overmastering, though an unacknowledged, influence, to the working out of a common system by which, whilst they prosecute, for their respective interests, their separate objects and pursuits, they supply one another with all things useful for their existence and enjoyment.

This is amongst the greatest of marvels; and it is achieved, as no human power could achieve it by any governmental force or police strategy, because there is a Law which dominates the movements of society and moulds the earthly destinies of men. And, surely, the inquiries which are bent to the comprehension of that Law, and strive to ascertain the principles on which it acts,—from earnest inquiry, laborious record, and just appreciation of the facts which, more or less clearly, disclose its systematic operation, in the various departments of human effort,—are vital to our well-being and progress in the world. They are fruitful in precise and enduring results. They have, already, in many points, revolutionised the opinions of communities, and shaped the policy of cabinets, and they have furnished canons of public conduct which

have had an ever-widening acceptance amongst civilised men.

Statistical inquiry is, therefore, scientific inquiry, and scientific inquiry of the highest value; and its successful prosecution is important to every class, from the statesmen and the legislator, to the humblest operative. It has relations with all matters of real human interest. It touches the reciprocal rights of classes; the claims of capital and labour; the advancement of education; the repression of crime; the relief of distress; the prevention of disease; the improvement of agriculture; the extension of commerce; and all the various cognate questions which affect our social and industrial state.

All men may profit by acquaintance with a department of knowledge which concerns all alike—the high and the low—the wealthy and the poor. If there be ascertainable laws by which the relative rights and responsibilities of human beings are regulated, and by the evasion or defiance of which they must suffer inevitable injury, it is plainly important that some knowledge of such laws, by all men, should promote the equitable and reasonable enforcement of those rights and responsibilities.

There is, at present, a sad encounter of classes in this great town, which has paralysed its most important industry.* As to the origin of the dispute, or the conflicting views of the parties to it, I do not presume to offer an opinion. But I may say, for myself, and, I am sure, for those whose pleasant meeting here has been clouded by that grievous calamity, that we lament its occurrence, and trust it will find a speedy ending,—towards which we should rejoice to offer any aid within our power,—for the avoidance, not merely of privation on the one side and

* A strike for wages, of a formidable character, existed at the time.

embarrassment on the other, but of evil consequences which may bring permanent mischief to every order of the community, and damage vitally the commercial position of Belfast. I refer to the subject, at present, only to indicate how important it might have been if the educational effort of which I have already spoken had so far advanced, as to spread abroad a knowledge of the issues of like encounters, in other places and at other times; and of the teaching to be derived in this, as in most things else, from that old experience, which

> Doth attain
> To something of prophetic strain!

But the statesman needs the knowledge which is accumulated by statistics even more than the mass of men. To legislate aright,—to guide a nation safely through calm and stormy times—to take advantage of opportunities of safe and wise reform, and avoid alike the evils of obstinate adherence to abuse and reckless innovation, a member of Parliament or a minister, holding political power, should qualify himself by familiarity with that science of which a most eminent professor of it (Dr. Farr) has said:—"Statistics underlie politics. It is, in fact, in its essence, the Science of Politics without party colouring." And yet, there are many members and some ministers who, from time to time, undertake the discharge of their high functions, without any such preparation as is deemed essential in the aspirants to any ordinary profession;—of which, in their case, some little statistical and economic knowledge might well form a necessary part.

Political action should not be altogether empirical; and scientific instruction, specially aimed to qualify for the higher undertaking of it, might be usefully supplied by our schools and universities, in far larger proportion than

they now afford it. For they would so supply new faculties of perception and persuasion to our public men, whom they might train to elucidate economic questions, and apply established principles in the novel emergencies which perpetually test the quality of statesmanship. And so, promoting an attempt to found legislation on a scientific basis, or, at least, to have it conducted with informed and forethoughtful intelligence, they might take away, in some degree, the reproach of the famous Chancellor:

Quam parvulâ sapientiâ regitur mundus!

There are, no doubt, subjects on which the law-maker may decide, promptly and on the first impression; but, on most of those which are really important and permanently affect the general interest, he should seek the help, which the statistician can afford, by casting light from the past on the dim pathways of the future; if he would avoid perfunctory and hap-hazard legislation, issuing often in serious mischief, and necessitating attempts at unsatisfactory amendment, which he need never have essayed, if he had allowed that light to lead him to an appreciation of the difficulties in his way, and the means to master them.

Still further, the statistical method may be employed, beyond the bounds of municipal arrangements, and made to operate for the benefit of the great community of nations. It may assist the jurist in dealing with the vexed questions of international law; and preparing the way for a progressive agreement, as to the reciprocal claims and duties of civilised states. And this, though it cannot, perhaps, whilst man is man, subdue the turbulence of ambition or end the crimes and calamities of war, may promote, at least, an approach to that universal harmony, which, however it may be delayed or forbidden by human

pride and passion, is dictated by the highest interests of mankind.

But, further still, there are collateral advantages which statistical inquiry affords, in bringing together, to such a meeting as this, men of science, and men of the world,—the professor, the actuary and the politician,—who find the occasion of union and mutual benefit, in a pursuit which exercises at once the student's capacities of intelligent research and logical deduction, and assists, as I have shown, to a happy issue, the best efforts of those who move in the busiest and noblest spheres of active citizenship.

And, even more widely, it promotes the diffusion of intelligence and the unity of intellectual effort throughout the earth, as in the case of the International Statistical Congress, which was originated at the London Exhibition of 1851, and has assembled successively in Brussels, in Paris, in Vienna, in London, in Florence, at The Hague, and, lastly, in St. Petersburg. At those meetings, various countries have been represented by delegates from their Governments and by men of science, with the object of discovering the best modes of statistical inquiry, of ascertaining the facts capable of numerical expression which can be collected in all civilised communities, of establishing a world-wide uniformity of statement, tabulation and publication of those facts, giving a more exact and scientific character to results, and making them more available for general usefulness. At the last Session, the eighth of the series, in St. Petersburg,—of which I should be glad, if I had time, to give some account from an admirable Report of Mr. Hammick, whose absence from this meeting I sincerely regret—notwithstanding the distance from which they came and the dangers they encountered from cholera and otherwise, 128 foreign members attended, from almost every country in Europe, and the United States of

America, from Brazil, Egypt, and Japan. There were 360 Russian members, including the first scientific men and University professors from all parts of the Empire. The Grand Duke Constantine presided, and opened the proceedings in a forcible address. The Emperor gave his best assistance, in every way, and the meeting was most harmonious and successful. I cannot attempt even to indicate the nature and the fruits of its important labours; and I refer to it, only that I may illustrate, by a late and conspicuous example, the mode in which the prosecution of statistical studies may tend to promote the good understanding of Governments; to dissipate the evil prejudices which have so often held nations in unnatural and absurd antagonism; to diffuse the highest intelligence of its most instructed members amongst the whole family of states, and bind them together by an identity of mental action and an equal participation of discoveries and suggestions, abounding in advantage to them all.

I fear I have already overpassed the proper limits of such an address as this; and I pursue no further the general considerations on which I have partially and imperfectly entered. But it seems to me, that those who are charged with the duty which I have assumed, may fairly be expected to make some allusion to matters within the sphere of their own special division of scientific knowledge, which may have peculiar relations with the localities in which they act. The opportunity of concentrating attention upon such matters may be judiciously and largely used by the authors of papers in the several sections; but a very brief allusion to some of them should be allowed to make the opening addresses "racy of the soil." I shall merely glance at two or three which will be of interest as belonging to Ireland.

I believe that in no other department of statistical inquiry

has such progress been made in these countries, within living memory, as in that which comprehends "Judicial Statistics,"—dealing with crime, its motives, its causes and the means of its repression, and with all the various questions of interest which arise in connexion with the administration of civil and criminal justice. In this department, men of high intelligence have long been labouring throughout the world; and it was the subject of sedulous attention at all the international congresses of which I have spoken. The results have been satisfactory and full of practical advantage, and they will become still more so, when the inquiries which those congresses have organised shall have submitted for comparison the judicial systems of all lands, described by those who are best acquainted with them. In this good work, Ireland has done more than her part, under the supervision of Dr. Neilson Hancock; and I owe it to that very eminent statistician to quote from a letter addressed to me by Mr. Hammick, of whom I have spoken already, the remarkable statement, that "the Irish Judicial Statistics are unequalled in Europe for skilful arrangement and lucid exposition."

The changes in the social state of Ireland, and the legislation of latter years, have fixed attention on our County Courts, and made some reforms in their procedure and some extension of their jurisdiction very desirable. The Land Act creates new exigencies in connexion with our agricultural and commercial life, and they must be satisfied by a moderate and carefully-considered reform of institutions, which have worked well and command the confidence of the people. This is one of the most important matters which can receive the attention of the Legislature; and I am glad to say that a beginning of improvement has been made in the last session, by an Act which gives the Chairmen of Counties power to adjudicate, in small cases, and

within certain limits, although *bonâ fide* questions of title may have arisen. The want of this power has often produced a denial of justice to suitors, whose poverty has forbidden them to seek it in a superior court—with the frequent consequences of lawless contentions, violent assaults, and, sometimes, lamentable homicides. The humble man who is wronged, in fact or fancy, and has found all available legal tribunals closed against him, takes the law into his own hands and becomes his own avenger. I hope this great mischief will now exist no more. But the extension of jurisdiction in title cases, and the further concession of a limited right to deal with transactions of partnership are only, I trust, the heralds of a more comprehensive measure, giving to our local courts, with such modification as may be necessary, the equitable jurisdiction already possessed by the County Courts of England.

You will, I am pleased to learn, have the opportunity of hearing a paper on Land Tenure, prepared by Sir George Campbell, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who is eminently qualified to speak with authority on that momentous subject; and to whom the people of this country owe serious obligations, for the counsel and assistance which his great ability and large experience in another land enabled him to afford, during the discussions which preceded the passing of the Irish Land Act. Of that Act, generally, I have no purpose to speak here. It has been in operation for too brief a time, and its provisions have yet been too little interpreted by judicial exposition to warrant a confident pronouncement on many points connected with it. I believe that it has already been of signal advantage, and will yield greater benefits hereafter. But I refer to it now, only that I may say a word of its purchase clauses, which,—and the best mode of giving them vitality and effect,—are worthy of the attention of all who care for the

prosperity of Ireland. As to those clauses, there was no controversy in Parliament: they passed, with universal approval, through both the Houses. They recognised, with all the authority involved in so rare a unanimity of acceptance, the value of diffused proprietorship of land amongst our agricultural classes. It is impossible to over-estimate their importance to the progress of this country in industry and order. Yet, they have had a very inadequate operation; and remain almost a dead letter on the Statute Book. I learn, from a report of the Commissioners of Public Works, that, since the passing of the Act, 338 tenant-farmers have purchased their holdings, comprising an acreage of 22,116 acres,—of which the annual rent amounted to £13,141,—at a gross cost of £319,522, including advances from the Commissioners of £192,066. The report informs us, further, that the applications of tenant-farmers for loans under the Statute have diminished instead of increasing, and that the purchases of one year have been 206, whilst only 106 were made, in that which followed. These facts are disappointing in a high degree; and I call attention to them, in this place, that, if possible, the causes of the disappointment may be investigated and done away, and free and fruitful action given to legislative provisions, amongst the very best which have ever been vouchsafed to us. Of course, I cannot here discuss so large a question; but I may indicate my own opinion that, in order to the effective working of those provisions, it will be necessary to facilitate, still further, the transfer of land, divided in small proportions, by cheapening conveyances and validating titles at a small expense; and that, for this purpose, it will be proper to extend the operations of the Record of Title Office beyond the narrow sphere within which Parliamentary opinion confined it when it was originally designed, and to make it effective, as it has never been, though years have elapsed since it was opened, by the

application of the principle of compulsion, without the aid of which, old habits, ignorant dislike of innovation, and powerful class interests, will continue to nullify its influence. The purpose of the Legislature to secure a complete and permanent register of all dealings with property in the soil is of high policy and plain necessity; and must not be baulked by the supineness or the obstinacy of individuals, whose own best interests will be promoted when they are forced to aid in carrying out that purpose. In addition, it will be necessary to reconsider the fiscal arrangements of that Office as well as of the Landed Estates Court, to which it is attached, and to localise their action by the establishment of District Registries, of easy access, for small transactions, and with fees too moderate to bar approach to them.

These seem to me the outlines of a reform long desirable, but, heretofore, difficult,—from the *vis inertiæ* of some and the active antagonism of others,—which should promptly be undertaken by Parliament, and has already, in principle, received its sanction, by its general approval of the Bills introduced by Lord Cairns during the past session. It is essential to Ireland, if we would have the action of a beneficent law no longer paralysed, and the passionate eagerness with which the Irish people covet the possession of the soil indulged, legitimately and within the limits of the law; so that, instead of finding it often identified with agrarian crime, we shall see it become subordinate and ancillary to the equitable settlement of the country and the lasting contentment of its people, by prompting them to obtain, through honourable industry and manly effort, that position of secure and independent proprietorship, which, according to all our experience of human nature, will lead them to identify their individual interests and objects with their duty to the State, and make them loyal and law-abiding citizens.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Daniel O'Connell.

[The O'Connell Centenary Address: Dublin, 1875.]

THE commemoration which we make to-day is more than an honour to a man. It celebrates the redemption of a people. It should be a prophecy and a foretaste of that future of union, prosperity, and peace, in which Irishmen will yet forget the misrule, and end the strife, of ages.

You assemble to testify your thankfulness for the noblest service a single citizen ever rendered to a nation: your pride in the equality he conquered for you by such gigantic efforts and against such desperate odds: and your unchanging devotion to that good old cause of civil and religious liberty, of which, throughout his life, he was the foremost champion in the world.

I feel, very deeply, my own inadequacy to fulfil the task imposed upon me. But avoidance of it was impossible. In my earlier years, I knew O'Connell well. He was to me, also, as he was described by Richard Lalor Sheil, during the trial of 1844—"my great political benefactor, my deliverer, and my friend!" I have more than shared the public advantages which his marvellous career purchased for his country; and from the hour when he signed my certificate for admission to the Irish Bar, I was personally his debtor for continual kindness. As his counsel, I acted for him in the Queen's Bench and the House of Lords, and though,

on some serious public questions, I ventured to differ from him in the zenith of his power, he never withdrew from me his confidence and friendship. With such antecedents, could I be silent when I was asked to speak—even though friends whom I respect would have had it so? Surely, I could not. I am here to discharge, however weakly, what seems to me, a sacred duty; and I hold it one of the highest privileges and distinctions of my life to be, on a day which you are making for ever memorable, the echo of a fame which has filled the earth—the interpreter of the feelings of grateful enthusiasm and loving pride with which the remembrance of their Liberator is cherished by millions of my race.

And not by them only, but also by men of other tongues and nations. The voice of foreign countries, which speaks the sense of a "contemporary posterity," acknowledged his greatness whilst he lived. The spirit of O'Connell animated the eloquence of Lacordaire, when he strove for free education and found, in the divine religion of the Cross, the sternest condemnation of intolerance and the highest sanction for ordered liberty. Admiration of his genius and his virtue made Montalembert,—then preparing for a troubled but brilliant and most noble life,—a pilgrim to his home in the wilds of Kerry, and his eulogist, in pathetic words, when, long years after, he passed through France, a bowed and broken man, to die in Genoa. Gustave de Beaumont, De Tocqueville's friend, described him in phrases combining fervent admiration and critical analysis.

And these witnesses to a reputation which, as has lately been said with authority, continues to this hour more diffused than that of any English-speaking public man of the present century, had their praises widely repeated in Germany and Italy and beyond the Atlantic.

There was no European state in which O'Connell's action

was not watched with interest,—the interest of apprehension in the upholders of dominant injustice, the interest of hope and joy in multitudes pining to be free. His speeches were translated into all languages. They were read in Poland and Hungary, and not unknown to the slaves of America, whose friend he was, when they had no hope; or to those of our colonies, for whom he toiled until they were set free, as earnestly as if his own Celtic blood had bounded in their veins.

So it was during his life; and now that he has rested in Glasnevin, under the shadow of the Irish round tower, for nine-and-twenty years, we have, to-day, decisive evidence that time has dealt kindly with his memory and accumulated honours round his tomb. The accordant testimony of many distinguished men, of various and distant lands, —some of whom are with you after weary journeys, and others have spoken from afar with no uncertain sound,— proves that the world has not forgotten O'Connell's triumphs for his church and people; and that their history furnishes, and will furnish long, guidance and impulse to those who, now or hereafter, may be called to maintain the rights of conscience, and strive, as he strove, at once for faith and freedom.

Europe has been prompt to respond, on this occasion, to the call of Ireland: and we have greetings from the American Republics and from the young nations which are rearing themselves in the Australasian seas — instinct with Irish spirit and Irish blood—demonstrating that the memory of O'Connell is still revered, wherever civilised men have known

> The name and the fame
> Of the sea-divided Gael.

The celebration of his Centenary, in such a way, will

affirm his right to take a place amongst the rare beings whose lives are but the beginnings of their earthly immortality,—whose work endures through ages, and affects the fate of untold generations. He has passed beyond the sphere of contemporary hatreds. The mists and heats of party are ceasing to envelope him. What was accidental and fleeting in his life fades gradually away. But the great events of which he was the author, the high qualities which fitted him to achieve them, come prominently forth, and the figure of the man looms out before us in its true proportions and its real grandeur. We are not far enough removed to miss the vision of blots upon its surface: for blots there were, as upon all things human. But time, which mellows tints and rounds angularities, is telling even upon these; and men are coming to honour O'Connell as the great Irish Celt, who conducted a fearful struggle to a happy issue, with unexampled patience, skill, and mastery, not escaping soil in the dust of the arena and the shock of the combat, but emerging from them to a resplendent victory, which will remain for ever the glory of his nation and a warning and example to the world.

Of the general incidents of his life, I shall not think of speaking in detail. The generation which saw his majestic form, and heard his voice of music, is fast departing. Not many exist who took part in the fight for Emancipation; and even the excitements of 1843 and its monster assemblies are becoming traditions of the past. But the uncrowned monarch, who then held over millions a more than kingly sway, needs here no annalist. To you his life and labours are as household words; and the occasion only requires that I should rapidly point to some of the principles which were dear to him, some of the methods of his action, and some of the results which he attained.

When Daniel O'Connell first saw the light, a hundred

years ago, the race from which he sprang and the religion of his forefathers seemed hopelessly sunk beneath the weight of an oppression, as degrading and complete as ever overwhelmed a people. The Irish Catholic was worse than a serf in his own land. In his person, all human rights were trampled down, all human feelings outraged. He was denied the common privilege of self-defence. He was incapable of holding property like other men. He was forbidden to instruct his own children; and a wicked and immoral law tempted his brother to defraud him, and robbed him that it might reward the apostacy of his ungrateful son. Since time began, a system more atrocious was never devised to crush the human conscience. And this horrible machinery of persecution was worked with fit results. It was mitigated in its action by the kindly feelings of those whose supremacy it was invented to sustain; but it brought the country to the deepest depression, and left it, spiritless and impotent, at the mercy of its task-masters.

I look back from the happier present to the intolerable past, in no spirit of bitterness, and with no desire to perpetuate the memory of wrong. But, if we would judge fairly of O'Connell's character and history, we must know what obstacles he had to encounter; what enemies to confront; from what a depth he was called to lift his people; and what faculties he needed to compass his success.

Ireland lay, as I have described her, without hope or help,—the outcast of the nations! But the hour of her deliverance came,—the hour, and the man created to deliver her. O'Connell was born into a world which was soon to see convulsions, disturbing its ancient order and shaping its destinies anew; and, in the scheme of Providence, these were to give occasion for the use of his singular endowments, which, but for them, might have rusted in inac-

tivity. The year of his birth witnessed the outbreak of the American war of independence; and the battle of Lexington was the herald of events, the memory of which gives our Transatlantic brethren occasion for a centenary festival as happy as our own. The spirit of the insurgents passed across the seas, and poured new life into the outworn nationalities of Europe. Their success animated the efforts of men struggling for freedom, and compelled attention to demands which had been flouted with contempt. Thus it came to pass that the penal laws were partially relaxed; and then the revolution of France broke forth, and the privileges of the Irish Catholics received still greater enlargement. The vital right of voting was bestowed; and, in 1793, when O'Connell was just of an age to take advantage of the boon, he found himself permitted to become a barrister.

The preparation was complete. If he had lived earlier, he would not have had a chance of developing his genius and marshalling his countrymen for their political deliverance. But the concessions of the Irish Parliament gave him instruments of action. His admission to the Bar enabled him to use them; and, after a moral struggle without precedent in history, he employed the franchise of 1793 to master the cabinet of Peel and Wellington, and found, in the freeholders of Clare, the irresistible pioneers of emancipation.

O'Connell came to the Bar in 1798, and, almost from the opening of his career, devoted himself to the public service. He had no force to aid him in the gigantic task he undertook. Physical or moral help was equally denied him. He led no army. There was no trained and organised opinion to stimulate his efforts or reward them by applause. His lot was cast with an utterly prostrate community,—wanting all strength of self-assertion, almost without the courage to

complain. Indeed, they had fallen so low as to declare whilst they grovelled before the Throne, that they "respected from the bottom of their hearts" the infamous laws under which they suffered.

But, in himself, O'Connell had limitless resources,—a buoyant nature, perpetual vigilance, untiring energy, patience inexhaustible, invention without bounds, faith in his cause which never faltered, and resolution which no reverse could daunt and no discouragement subdue.

And, so accoutred, he prepared to play the part of the mighty Jew of old:—

> The dread of Israel's foes, who, single combatant
> Duelled their armies ranked in proud array,
> Himself an army!

His brain and tongue were, at first, his only weapons; but the brain was massive and fertile, and the tongue, in many ways, has scarcely had an equal. His powers as an orator were all his own. He had, perhaps, greater variety and completeness of control over his auditory than any speaker of ancient or modern times. Others have been pre-eminent in special gifts; but he had singular command of the widest range of persuasive eloquence. He had humour, and pathos, and invective, and argument, and he could pass from one to another, sweeping across the human heart-strings with an astonishing facility and a sure response.

He was not an artist in oratory. He regarded his faculty of speech as an instrument, and not as an end; and had little pride in it, save for the means it gave him of working out his purposes. He was indifferent to his reputation as a speaker, and took no pains to correct or preserve his addresses; and perhaps the only one really representing what he was is his defence of John Magee, which—as he told me

during the state trial—he himself wrote out, whilst he was waiting to start for his circuit on the morning after the delivery of it.

He impressed himself upon his hearers, not by nice attention to the form of his sentences or the selection of his words, but by vigorous repetition of the views he desired to inculcate, in such language as was most suited to those whom he addressed. Thus, he dealt habitually with juries; and it was this repetition, in every variety of phrase and with every aid of illustration, which enabled him to fill the popular mind with his own conceptions, and mould it according to his will.

He had the rare endowments of a stately presence, and a voice almost unequalled in melody and compass; and these, with his skill in reasoning and affluence of wit and fancy, commended him to all sorts of people, wherever he appeared. Once, he came down as special counsel to a northern county, and he was regarded as the very incarnation of evil by jurors who had known in him only their irreconcileable political antagonist. They looked askance at him, and would scarcely hear him; but, before he had concluded his speech to evidence, he had won their admiration and their verdict, and established kindly relations with them, which were long maintained.

I saw him in Edinburgh speaking to a multitudinous assembly of Scotchmen, who had small love for the Irish agitator, and no sympathy with his religion or his race; but when his voice rung out like a trumpet round the Calton Hill, he moved them to a frenzy of enthusiasm such as I have rarely seen excited in any Irish crowd.

Listen to Lord Lytton's description of O'Connell at a monster meeting:—

> Once to my sight the giant thus was given,
> Walled by wide air and roofed by boundless heaven,

Beneath his feet the human ocean lay,
And wave on wave flowed into space away.
Methought no clarion could have sent its sound
E'en to the centre of the hosts around ;
And, as I thought, rose the sonorous swell,
As from some church-tower swings the silvery bell.
Aloft and clear from airy tide to tide
It glided easy, as a bird may glide—
To the last verge of that vast audience sent ;
It played with each wild passion as it went ;
Now stirred the uproar—now the murmurs stilled,
And sobs or laughter answered as it willed.
Then did I know what spells of infinite choice
To rouse or lull has the sweet human voice.
Then did I learn to seize the sudden clue
To the grand, troublous life antique—to view,
Under the rock-stand of Demosthenes,
Unstable Athens heave her noisy seas !

Pitt was unable to fulfil his promises to Ireland; abandoned, at the King's bidding, the scheme which might have given her a happier future; and ultimately renounced all effort to remove her religious disabilities. The period which followed was very dreary for her. It gave no prospect of relief. But, for five-and-twenty years, hoping against hope, she still pressed onwards, maintaining her bootless struggle, —now in associations, again in committees, often in popular assemblies, sometimes in the law courts;—her modes of action always varying, her objects always the same.

It was not a time of progress, but of preparation. There was continual movement, but little advance. The multitude were made familiar with the story of their wrongs, and encouraged to seek redress by hopes which were often baffled, but always revived. O'Connell had not yet attained that leadership which was unquestioned in after days. But he was mounting towards it. He was building up his legal reputation, and commanding more and more the public confidence. Wherever work was to be done, or counsel

given, or opposition overborne, in assertion of the Catholic claims, there was he, ready to speak or act,—eager to sustain their friends, audacious, *à outrance*, in defiance of their adversaries. Associated with able and trusted men, he was already the animating spirit of the movement. But for him, also, it was only a time of preparation. He was nerving his strength and training his energies for the supreme effort which was to win for him the name of Liberator.

Time went on; but the cause of the Catholics did not prosper much. It had, in the Imperial Parliament, the advocacy of Plunket and Grattan—the first astonishing the House of Commons by his masculine vigour and a trenchant logic; and the second displaying, in his latest years, the unbroken power of that electric eloquence which, in his youth, had stirred a nation's heart to passionate excitement and high endeavour, and given him a claim to Byron's eulogy:—

> With all that Demosthenes wanted endued,
> And his rival or victor in all he possessed!

The advocacy of such men was a providential agency, informing the mind of England, and dissipating the prejudices on which sectarian ascendency was based. And they were sustained by a great party, of which I may now say, without offence to any one, that, to its immortal honour, it refused to succumb to the intolerance of royalty, or purchase office at the expense of principle. For many a long year, the place of the friends of the Catholics was in opposition, and they held that place with a self-abnegating faithfulness beyond all praise. In our own island, the liberal Protestant was ostracised by the Government, and systematically denied emolument or distinction. Yet men like Robert Holmes, and Louis Perrin, and Maziere Brady,

—dear friends of mine, whose memory I hold in reverence, —were always found mindful of their duty, and careless of themselves. They held aloft the banner of religious liberty, —round which we all profess to rally now,—in evil days, when to be its bearer was to defy authority and court exclusion; and Catholic Ireland will be, indeed, disgraced, if the time shall ever come, when she shall cease to be deeply grateful for the services and sacrifices of those who did not share her faith or bow before her altars, but stood by her in her weakness, to their own grievous injury, because they believed in the justice of her claims.

Much had been accomplished by speech in Parliament and writing in the press, and much by the example of steadfastness displayed by honest men in the face of all discouragement. Its opponents were led, at least, to consider the reasonableness of the Catholic demand. But its concession seemed indefinitely postponed: and the people, tantalised and disgusted by the alternation of fair hopes and bitter disappointments, sank into a miserable apathy. Although the visit of George the Fourth,—an event of evil memory,—galvanised them into feverish expectation for a time, they soon learned that the King, before whom they had humbled themselves so slavishly, loved them as little as his royal father; and they fell into the abject condition described by one of the best and most accomplished of them all, Sir Thomas Wyse:—"The Catholic spirit had totally passed away. The dead body only was left behind." But

'Tis always the darkest hour nearest the dawn;

and O'Connell seized the moment of her worst despair to recal the spirit of his country, and sound the trumpet of her resurrection.

Whilst the moral prostration described by Sir Thomas

Wyse was most complete, he formed the Catholic Association of 1824. You need not be told its history,—how hard it was to procure the attendance of ten persons at its early meetings, and how it grew in numbers and in power, whilst, day by day, O'Connell's voice resounded through the land, rousing the "hereditary bondsmen" from their despairing inaction, and teaching them reliance on themselves. You need not be told how Ireland rallied to the Association,—how the Catholic aristocracy came around its leader,—how the Catholic clergy answered to his call,—until despondency was banished, apathy passed away, and the Catholic millions were banded to do the work of men, in the last struggle for their freedom. The organisation was made perfect from the centre of the island to the sea; and its unbought and unforced obedience to its chief was more absolute than was ever given, by trembling serfs, to Roman emperor or Eastern caliph.

And the one essential figure in this great drama, which soon grew to absorb the attention of mankind, was the figure of Daniel O'Connell. He towered above his compeers. He acted in the open day: within the limits of the law and by methods known to the constitution. He was intensely loyal; combining the personal devotion of a cavalier to his sovereign with devotion, as earnest, to popular rights. He taught the masses to honour the Crown and be obedient to authority, not for fear only but for conscience' sake: and he proclaimed that by moral force, and moral force alone, all they could legitimately wish might be accomplished.

He had seen the horrors of the French revolution. He had mourned over the miseries of the rebellion of 1798. He had learned to hate anarchy, and shrink from civil strife; and his perpetual teaching was, that civil liberty is made worthless by the defilement of a bloody purchase. It was

a new gospel, preached with strong faith and endless iteration, and, in the might of it, the Catholic people triumphed!

They triumphed with the weapon which the legislation of 1793 had put into their hands. They learned to use, for their religion and their country, the franchise which they had, theretofore, prostituted to their own debasement, at the bidding of their masters. They refused to be any longer "dumb driven cattle," lashed to the poll to vote as they were ordered. The serfs, as was said by a great minister of the time, "assumed the attitude of freemen"; stormed, at all hazards, in Louth and Waterford, the citadels of the Ascendency; and gave the first assurance of its downfal.

It tottered. The Clare election struck the *coup de grâce*, and the conqueror of Waterloo succumbed to O'Connell. That famous election is unique in history. It was said to have been the prophecy of John Keogh, that emancipation would be carried when a Catholic should be sent to Parliament; and the leader of the Catholics attempted its fulfilment. The great encounter came between the lords of the soil and the people who had been so subservient, that they felt amazed at the audacity of their own opposition. The issue was known to be momentous and decisive: and all possible efforts were made to insure the victory of the government. But they were vain. The prestige of dominion had departed. The fetters of interest and custom had been wrenched away. The voters listened to their priests and defied their landlords; and, demonstrating their fitness for liberty by a majestic order and a universal temperance, which proved at once the depth of their resolution and their power of self-reliance and self-restraint, they elected O'Connell and won Emancipation.

Bitterly confessing

> The sharp, convulsèd pangs of agonising pride,—

Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington accepted

the inevitable, and gave us the justice they could no more withhold. The great heart of Ireland throbbed with exultation. The incense of a people's thanksgiving went up to the throne of the Almighty Being who had permitted them to be raised from their low estate, and led to a pure and bloodless victory. Countries which had strained from afar, with eager eyes, to watch the shifting scenes of the unequal contest, noted its result with wonder and rejoicing. The triumph was complete; and the nation bowed in homage to the author of its great deliverance.

That triumph was not for the Catholics alone. They had especial reason to value it, for it most nearly affected them, and they had gained it in a manly struggle without any compromise. They had been saved by O'Connell, and those who thought with him, from purchasing it by an enslavement of their Church, which no man now deems possible; and although, to soothe the irritation of their baffled adversaries, some ungenerous and unwise restrictions were put upon them, they had really obtained—what their fathers longed for, but did not dare to hope—Unconditional Emancipation! But the triumph, although otherwise regarded by the Irish Protestant, ought, if rightly understood, to have been considered, and will yet be considered, as his triumph also. It relieved him from the reproach of foul wrong to his fellow men. It removed him from the demoralising influences of an unjust ascendency. It cast him free to wage honestly the battle of life on equal terms with those around him; and forbade him any longer to hold the place of a pampered monopolist, debauched and emasculated by exclusive privilege. It set the seal of condemnation on religious strife: and took away the inducements which had encouraged rulers to divide that they might govern, and misled the people "to hate each other for the love of God."

By all—Protestants and Catholics alike—it should have been hailed as the common victory of truth and reason; and although it needed many supplements to make it perfect, which have been painfully and slowly gained, and although, even now, its results have not reached their full development, it has changed the character of our social life,—harmonised our relations with each other,—abated the violence of our hereditary feuds,—and assisted Ireland to advance, in the way of material and moral progress, more rapidly, considering her antecedent state,—I say it with confidence and pride, in spite of all our shortcomings,—than any other country of the old world.

It is not needful, here and now, to justify the career of O'Connell or to vindicate him from the aspersions which pursued him to the grave. He had faults, for he was mortal; and, looking back from the calmer period in which we live to the tempestuous days of agitation, we inevitably note acts and words which we might wish to have been unspoken and undone. We may dislike the rudeness of the strife,—the bitterness of language,—the vehemence of assault,—the bandying of ugly epithets,—the looseness of passionate assertion and sanguine promises lightly made and quickly falsified. These things, and things such as these, which existed in the movements of times gone by,—not in Ireland only but equally in England, as any one may see who turns to the political records of the earlier part of the present century,—may seem to us to have discredited the popular cause, even though they did it temporary service. But whilst, in the peaceful enjoyment of our consummate liberty, we use the privilege of criticism on the acts of those who won it for us,—who bore the burthen and heat of the day, and spent themselves in labour and devotion to the cause,—we must remember the work O'Connell had to do, and his materials for the doing of it.

It was his task to lift up a people, prostrate—apparently for ever—before an invulnerable power. The spirit of manhood had been crushed from their hearts, and it was the first need of their deliverer to

> Create a soul under the ribs of death,

and rouse them to self-respect and self-dependence. As I have said, his brain and tongue were his only instruments, and if he sometimes spoke in harsh language, and paid back hate and scorn with interest, his violation of social amenities and fastidious tastes may have a claim for pardon, if it gave courage to a trampled race and emboldened them to confront their hereditary lords. Revolutions of opinion are as little wrought by abject meekness as revolutions of force; and when Shakespeare tells us,—"if a man will make courtesy to say nothing, he is virtuous"; the great painter of human nature points to the virtue of a slave. O'Connell exacted from the Irish Catholics submission to authority, as at once a moral duty and the condition of success; but whilst they were still sufferers from injustice, that submission could only be what Burke had described as "a litigious and dissatisfied obedience"; and this he could not well maintain by honeyed words, or the exchange of compliments with those whom it was his life's business to encounter and overthrow.

Again, he has been attacked for his autocratic temper and intolerance of rivalry; and, in ordinary circumstances, good feeling would condemn these things, so far as they existed. But, again, we must consider O'Connell's position. To succeed, he required concentration of authority. He had to deal with ignorant and undisciplined masses,—without reliable leaders or intelligent opinion;—and to draw forth and utilise their latent strength, a firm hand and a vigorous will, defying opposition, were essential.

His scheme of peaceful agitation required for its working apparent impossibilities. He aimed to keep Ireland profoundly submissive to the laws, yet morally ungovernable: —to stir to its depths the passion of the people, yet make them shrink from violence and outrage:—to be himself, at once, vehement and fierce and cool of judgment; stanch to principle, but pliant and supple in adaptation to the expediencies of the hour: steady of purpose, but seeking his end by an infinite variety of means,—of means, possibly, not always wise or always warrantable, but always faithfully employed, and with unerring precision, to carry forward the mission of his life. Considering these things, we shall probably conclude, that, if O'Connell had not grown to be an autocrat, the Irish Catholics might never have been welded together in an unbroken and resistless phalanx—might never have been got to shape a policy capable of carrying them to their difficult end—might have remained, for many a dreary year, a

Heap of uncementing sand—

torn by small divisions, committed to hostile courses, and powerless to overbear the tremendous combination of royal enmity and aristocratic influence and class interest and popular hatred, which threatened to hold them in perpetual bondage.

O'Connell was very much an impersonation of his country, in its strength and its weakness, its virtues and its faults. If he had been more perfect, he would have been less successful. If he had been other than he was, in his peculiar time and sphere of action, Emancipation might have been indefinitely postponed or unworthily effected. Men say it would have come, if he had never lived. And so it might; for Ireland sought only justice; and there is a God in Heaven! But when would it have

come? Or how? Would the Irish Catholics have still been quiet slaves? Or would the intolerable pressure of hopeless wrong have had its issue in social anarchy? If O'Connell had not been here, to force them to self-assertion, they might have continued to submit:—if he had not been here, to moderate passions inflamed by tyranny, they might have burst all bounds and desolated Ireland or broken up the Empire. Who can tell what might have been? But we know what is; and we have reason for deep thankfulness to Heaven and its appointed instrument, that doubt is ended and speculation done away, and that we rest, through his endeavours, in the enjoyment of the priceless blessings of a free constitution,—securing to us the fair administration of equal laws.

There has been talk of O'Connell's extravagance of pretension and unreasonableness of demand. The charge is not historically just. Rightly or wrongly, he sometimes acted on the notion that excess of claim was needful to enforce concession. But he was practically reasonable. He had strong common sense, and he always strove to obtain the best available terms for his country. He stirred the multitude almost beyond restraint, but he never let them overpass the limits of legality; and when he could secure a measure of substantial benefit, he did not throw it by to clutch at an abstraction. When Lord Mulgrave came to afford its first real effect to the Relief Bill, he abandoned the Repeal agitation which had secured for him unbounded popularity and a princely revenue,—the free-will gift of a nation to its advocate whose services it held beyond all price, doing signal honour to them both. He struggled then to realise advantages many of which we have since obtained. And at various stages of his after-career, any one who will study his speeches, which a recent publication makes accessible to all, will find him claiming as justice to Ireland those reforms in the corporations, the

church, the land laws, and the jury system, which have been conceded—although too often imperfectly,—beyond the measure of his hopes, and other political and social changes within the easy reach of an enfranchised people, pursuing, in unity and earnestness, a common end.

I have said that here he needs no defence; but it has seemed to me becoming that a little word should be spoken, on an occasion of such solemnity and general interest, — extenuating nothing of charges really sustainable, but repelling some of those with which the virulence of faction strove, through all his days, to blacken his reputation. At various times, he grappled angrily with the Press and the Parliament. The great interests he assaulted and the keen susceptibilities he was obliged to wound made him hosts of enemies. He was not spared whilst he lived. Even now, the trail of slander slimes his memory: and those to whom it is dear are driven to defend it. But every day is lessening the necessity, and lifting him, more and more, above the foulness of partisan abuse.

After 1829, O'Connell enjoyed a reputation—

> With which all Europe rang from side to side.

His name was a familiar word in foreign lands. He had done an act for which there was no precedent. He had used a method previously unknown. He was a victorious revolutionist, who had changed a people's destiny without blood or crime; leading them safely through the unspeakable perils of the stormiest civil agitation the world had seen. He was the apostle of liberty and the enemy of licence. He had reconciled order and progress; and identified religion with the advancement of human right. This was his high position in the palmiest epoch of his life. He did other great and memorable things, but the unique achievement by which he will be for ever distinguished from other

leaders of mankind, was the liberation of Catholic Ireland by purely moral means.

I have lingered fondly on that achievement; because I feel that an Irish Catholic, speaking of O'Connell in the metropolis of Ireland, is bound chiefly to regard him as the author of our religious freedom. But I must tell you briefly how, in a wider theatre, after he had won it, and when his influence was enlarged, he acted in the interest of progress and for the benefit of the human race.

Do not fear that I approach this latter period of O'Connell's life with any purpose of stirring past or present controversies, or touching on any question capable of disuniting honest Irishmen. If I were so disposed, I should be precluded from dealing with such topics by the programme of your celebration, proclaiming to the world that it repudiates exclusiveness, that it is meant to transcend the bounds of sect and party, and that it invites all men to combine in honouring one whose opinions they may not all adopt, whose actions they may not all approve, but whose greatness is their common property, and ought to be their common pride. Your Committee have said of their organisation, that "within it is reserved a place for every man, of every hue and shade and party, who feels a pride in being the countryman of O'Connell, and desires to honour his memory."* That pledge is binding. I accepted it when I wrote, in answer to the invitation of the chief magistrate of Dublin, that, on this occasion, we should ignore "the divisions of the past and the controversies of the present." It was accepted by such men as the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Greville, Lord Portarlington, Lord Emly, Mr. Langdale, Mr. Fullarton, and many others of the most various political opinions, who, on the faith of it, gave to your

* Address of the Centenary Committee. See note at p. 161.

movement the aid of their money and the authority of their names. It should have strict observance throughout your festal days; and no man—Conservative or Liberal, Catholic or Protestant, Unionist or Anti-Unionist, for all these have answered to your call—should be forced to complain that his generous confidence has been abused, by word or act, compromising his opinions or offending his susceptibilities, religious or political. Our solemnity is national, or it is worse than nothing; and if O'Connell be permitted to look down from that Heaven in which we humbly trust he is now enjoying his eternal rest, he will recognise—as the most grateful homage of the people whom he freed—their striking of a truce of God, in which they may celebrate his Centenary by forgetfulness of dissensions and unity of hearts.

Avoiding, therefore, as far as possible, all unclosed controversies and matters in dispute, political or religious, and looking only to accomplished and accepted facts, I shall advert to O'Connell's course after he had attained the vantage-ground of Emancipation. Unhappily, a perverse policy and antipathies, meanly indulged by those he had overcome, made his victory too long unfruitful of results, and exposed him to neglect and contumely. But this, although it pained him, did not lead him to betray his principles or neglect his duty. He set himself earnestly to do the work of Parliament: and wherever effort was possible, for the promotion of public interest or the expansion of public liberty, he was sure to be found, "faithful amongst the faithless and foremost of the fearless."

He claimed the great movement for Reform as a consequence of Emancipation; and, beyond doubt, it was largely stimulated and shaped by the methods and the success of the Irish struggle. Again, associations were formed, and leaguers rallied the masses, and moneys were gathered, and

"musterings of men in myriads," to use Lord Brougham's words, made their tramp heard in Parliament, sounding the death-note of electoral abuse. The strife was bitter and its fortunes various, but, through it all, O'Connell was in the van; and at a time when very able men were roused to the utmost exertion of their highest powers, his speeches yielded in excellence to no others, and were pronounced by many the best in the debates. And when the battle ended, and England was saved from that risk of revolution which comes of the hopelessness of necessary change, and allowed to enter on the course of gradual and safe improvement which has kept her undisturbed amidst the fall of dynasties and the wreck of empires, she ought to have been grateful to the Irish leader who did not help her less, because he failed to get for his own people their full measure of Parliamentary reform.

And so, when the dispute about the abolition of slavery was coming to a close, and the Legislature prepared to make the enormous pecuniary sacrifice by which it was nobly purchased, O'Connell, though he resisted a compensation which he thought unrighteous, was foremost in commending the act of liberation to the acceptance of the country.

He was entitled to speak on the subject with authority, for, as I have said, he had always been the negro's friend, even when to be so seemed inconsistent with the political interests of Ireland. In its great extremity the Catholic Association needed help—the help of sympathy and money—from foreign countries; and one of the likeliest and readiest to give such help was America. But O'Connell refused to gain it by any compromise with slavery. He denounced that evil institution in the Southern States as in the British colonies. He fought against it with fearless resolution: and the contributions, which would otherwise have been ample, were withheld. It was one of the many

occasions on which he proved himself to possess high moral courage and devotedness to duty. Another was, when he was led—I think, and the event has proved, mistakenly—to oppose the introduction of poor laws into Ireland, although the popular sentiment, interpreted by the illustrious Bishop of Kildare, was very strong against him. And there was another occasion more striking still—when he resisted a pernicious combination of the Trades of Dublin, and saved them from themselves, at the peril of his popularity and even of his life. These things are worthy of remembrance when we come to estimate the nature of the man; and therefore I note them, although they may not be strictly in order here.

It is fitting also to observe that the Liberator of the Irish Catholic equally desired the liberation of the Dissenter and the Jew. He drafted the petition which—backed by 100,000 Catholic signatures—precipitated the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and he was not deterred from advancing that salutary measure, because the people he aided to enfranchise had strong sectarian antipathies and gave little help to the Catholic claims. At that time, too many of them inherited the spirit of their Puritan ancestors, and would almost have refused their own deliverance, if it had involved the concession of liberty to their fellow-Christians. O'Connell rebuked their bigotry by forcing his aid upon them and helping to make them free.

And when the Jews needed support in their Parliamentary struggle, he gave it, earnestly and freely. He had a special interest in that ancient people; for Ireland, like them, had "sat by the waters of Babylon, and hung her harp upon the willows";—had suffered persecution and learned mercy; and was eager to welcome the outcasts of Jerusalem to the enjoyment of the privileges she had conquered for herself. In spite of obstinate resistance, they also were emancipated:

"musterings of men in myriads," to use [illegible] words, made their tramp heard in Parliament [illegible] death-note of electoral abuse. The strife [illegible] fortunes various, but, through it all, [illegible] van; and at a time when very able men [illegible] utmost exertion of their highest powers, [illegible] in excellence to no others, and were [illegible] the best in the debates. And when [illegible] England was saved from that [illegible] comes of the hopelessness of [illegible] to enter on the course of gradu[illegible] which has kept her undisturbed [illegible] and the wreck of empires, she [illegible] to the Irish leader who did [illegible] failed to get for his own peo[illegible] mentary reform.

And so, when the dispute [illegible] was coming to a close, and [illegible] the enormous pecuniary s[illegible] chased, O'Connell, though [illegible] he thought unrighteous [illegible] act of liberation to the [illegible]

He was entitled to [illegible] for, as I have said, he [illegible] even when to be so [illegible] interests of Ireland [illegible] Association needed [illegible] —from foreign [illegible] readiest to give [illegible] refused to gain [illegible] denounced that [illegible] the British [illegible] resolution: [illegible] have been [illegible]

...ugh her intelligence was not con-
... removed. If her people had been
... majority of every class would, probably,
... cupation. The matter, of course, is pro-
... have thought men most competent to
... opinion is sadly sustained by the almost
... sion of every Roman Catholic from the
... n of England and Scotland which prevails
... hour—although amongst those who would
... seek it are Catholics of the oldest blood, and
... t possessions, and the best intelligence, and the
... rious political sentiments, on all the public ques-
... the time. Surely the exclusion is a shame and a
... ; and not the less because it is rebuked by the
... of other nations. We have seen Catholic Austria
... ed, in our day, by a Protestant Prime Minister; Catholic
... rance submitting cheerfully, for long years, to Guizot;
and Catholic communities, everywhere,—and eminently
... re in Ireland,—admitting to their legislatures, freely and
confidingly, Protestants of every confession and of every
class.

But although, under such circumstances, O'Connell may not receive from Britain the full honour due to his greatest public act, which she will yet assuredly award him, he has other claims upon her which a just and generous people should not be slow to allow. For years, he was the most powerful subject of the realm. He had a band of followers in the House of Commons, exulting in his leadership, and obedient to his will; who held the balance between conflicting parties, and had strength enough to make and unmake ministries. It was a dangerous position, tempting the man who held it to transact unworthily for his own benefit, or indulge his own ambition without regard to the general interest. His influence was odious to many who

and we are not without reason for believing that O'Connell's efforts for them find grateful recognition in many Jewish hearts.

The great battle of the Corn Laws was fought; and O'Connell contended for freedom of commerce as stoutly as he had striven for freedom of religion. He was not, perhaps, a profound economist; but he had the instincts of genius,—informed and stimulated by a large humanity. For many a year, before the cause grew popular or hopeful, he was its unflinching advocate. He anticipated the unadorned eloquence of Cobden, and urged the absolute repeal of the food-tax, whilst the Legislature was playing with shifts and palliatives. And this he did, although his doing of it offended, to a large extent, the local feeling, and seemed to antagonise the local interests, of Ireland, and was disapproved by many of his most important political allies. Notwithstanding, he was strong enough and brave enough to assert his own convictions. He believed that the demands of the working people were just, and might be conceded with advantage to all classes. He looked to the removal of trade monopolies for the creation of reciprocity of benefit and service amongst nations, making them happily dependent on each other for mutual aid,—and giving the world the truest guarantees for peace and progress. If he had taken another course,—and he could easily have made another more popular in Ireland,—the issue of the struggle, in which we now rejoice, might have been far less fortunate, or, at the least, far less rapidly attained.

I can dwell no more on O'Connell's Parliamentary course; but I fear not to say that it was such as to make Britain largely his debtor. She did not, and she could not, at once appreciate the worth of his labours for religious liberty. He had succeeded, by subduing her pride and compelling

bowed before it, and many who made profit by it; and the feelings of irritation which it roused have scarcely passed away. But history will tell that O'Connell used his power for pure and generous purposes, in no spirit of poor self-seeking or of insular narrowness, or of exclusive sectarianism—but with a true and liberal sense of his public duty and a firm resolution to discharge it. The records of Parliament demonstrate that his labours were unsparingly devoted to the advancement of every measure which had for its aim the destruction of monopoly and the enlargement of public right. Not one of the statutes passed during his representative career, which constitute the modern charters of British liberty—commercial, political, and religious—failed to find in him a willing supporter; and if those great measures have laid, as I believe they have, the broad and strong foundations of a prosperous commonwealth, which, but for them, in a period of strange transition, might have been subject to perilous disturbance and possible decay, I claim for him the praise of having been—in spite of scant encouragement from those who owed him most and large inducements to other courses—the unselfish, devoted, and efficient promoter at once of the real interests and lasting greatness of the Empire, and of the advancement of sound political and economic principles throughout the globe.

I must hurry to a conclusion. Loyally observing your engagement of neutrality on still debated questions, I cannot discuss the objects of O'Connell's latest struggle for the Repeal of the Union, as to which opinions vary so much and conflict so strongly. But no one will blame me if I say, that it was conducted with an indomitable energy and an amplitude of intellectual power, such as the aged leader had scarcely demonstrated in his early prime. He roused again the popular enthusiasm to a marvellous in-

tensity. At his will, he again restrained it from dangerous excess; and his dominion over the masses was never, perhaps, so absolute before. Let men differ as they may on the policy of the movement, its magnitude and grandeur will make it conspicuous in history for ever.

Then came the monster trial, in which I was myself a young and humble actor. O'Connell stood before a jury wholly alien from him in politics and faith,—empannelled as, I rejoice to believe, no jury can hereafter be empannelled in this country,—whose verdict of conviction was invalidated, as you know, by the House of Lords.

I well remember the day of the reversal. I was standing at the Bar, beside the Attorney-General for Ireland, when it grew evident that the judgment would be for the traversers, and an Irish peer rushed down and said openly, "We can't stand this! We must vote and prevent the mischief!" But better counsels prevailed. Lord Wharncliffe reminded the House of its usages, and the becomingness of abiding by them; and to their honour, the Peers, who owed O'Connell little courtesy or favour, for he had often dealt with them very hardly, abstained from avenging themselves by the exercise of their undoubted privilege.

The judgment was reversed, and the Liberator was free! It was a success for which he and his friends had scarcely dared to hope; and the effect was magical. A wild delight thrilled through the island. No triumph of old Rome could have been more imposing than that which presented their idol to the myriads who thronged the metropolis on the day of his release. His incarceration had been felt by each of them as almost a personal wrong and suffering. It had taken from his prestige, for it impeached his legal invulnerability, in which the popular belief had been undoubting. The success of his appeal was more than a mere deliverance from prison. It was a restoration of credit and of power.

The rejoicing was universal, and there were glad anticipations of the coming time.

But they were doomed to disappointment. Disputes arose between O'Connell and some of the most gifted of his followers; and of them, also, I cannot speak, on an occasion which excludes all controversy. They were unhappy, and of ill result; and after them came the calamity which soon cast its deadly shadow over Ireland, and filled her homes with desolation.

O'Connell's strength gave way. I believe that fatal disease was upon him during the great state trial. His brain had possibly been affected by the unexampled excitement he had undergone. When he spoke, on his own behalf, the old fervour had departed, the old mastery was no more;—and he read to the jury an argument, not void of high ability, but wholly different from the appeal with which, in other days, he would have subdued them under the spell of his matchless advocacy. His illness advanced to its sad ending. He made, in the House of Commons, a last appeal for Ireland—then slowly perishing in famine and pestilence—and began the pilgrimage to Rome which he was not destined to accomplish. He died in Italy, a penitent and humble Christian; true to the faith of his fathers; trusting in the mercy of his God; and leaving a name which will live as long as grass grows and water runs in the land he liberated.

His heart is in the Eternal City. His body lies amongst his own in Ireland; and for his soul's repose, the prayers of a grateful people ascend, to-day, to Heaven.

Of the events which followed his removal, I have no time to speak, even if it were fit to speak of them on a day exclusively devoted to his honour. But I may say, at least, that they cast reflected credit on his life.

If we have seen the principle of Religious Equality,

which he unceasingly proclaimed, and never compromised, carried out in full comprehensiveness and efficiency;—if we have seen the people endowed with an interest and a security in their homesteads for which, in his day, he pleaded, apparently without the most shadowy prospect of success;—and if we are thankful, as we ought to be, to the living authors of those great blessings;—we cannot fail to recollect how O'Connell strove for them, in less happy times, anticipating, as he did, and urging forward, the advent of changes,—the necessary conditions of all healthy progress,—which, if we be true to ourselves and careful of our opportunities, will deliver us from sectarian divisions, as they have destroyed the remnant of sectarian ascendency, and plant at last on the soil of Ireland a prosperous and happy people.

And now, before I conclude, let me, in a few words, present to you what I deem to be some of the main principles of the teaching of O'Connell, which he enforced in his speeches and illustrated by his life. They should be cherished as a precious legacy of truth and wisdom.

First, and above all things, he was the assertor—the earnest, consistent, uncompromising assertor—of the right of all men to freedom—civil and religious. His doctrine was expounded by his true disciple, Count Montalembert, in words which, once before, I was proud to adopt as mine:—"I desire to serve the cause of liberty as distinguished from revolution, and the cause of Catholicism, as distinguished from despotism and intolerance—religious liberty, sincere and equal for all, without privileges either for or against Catholicism—political liberty, defended against the encroachments of government, but also defended against the immoral violence and abject servility of corrupt democracy,—liberty and authority both kept within the bounds of justice and truth—the faith which respects

honesty of belief and inviolability of conscience." And there are other words—of O'Connell himself—which should not pass from human memory:—"I, as a Catholic," he said, "abhor and repudiate persecution. Insisting on my own right, at my own awful responsibility, to my Creator and my Lord, and to Him alone, to worship Him in the full sincerity of conscientious belief, I assert, for every Christian man, precisely the same right at the same awful responsibility." Through good report and ill report, this was the doctrine he promulgated. This was the faith in which he lived and died. He taught his countrymen that the recovery of that liberty, "to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience," which is "above all liberties," and which they were forbidden to enjoy, was worth any expenditure of toil and sacrifice. And he taught them also, in the spirit of the Saviour, that, doing by others as they would be done by, they should equally claim that liberty for all mankind.

That was one lesson of O'Connell: and another was, that, as civil liberty does not necessarily associate itself with revolution, religious liberty is not to be identified with indifference to the truth of God. He found the weapons of political action more potent when they were wielded under the sanction of the law, and in sustainment of the order of society; and the firmness of his Catholic faith animated and nerved him for the battle of freedom. That is a lesson worthy of all acceptance now. Men are swinging loose from the moorings of religion, and assail, as it was never assailed before, the system of belief which has founded and built up the institutions of the modern world —as effete and obsolete and endurable no longer. For us, at least, in Ireland, it will be good to remember that the most fearless champion of our liberty was also the most docile child of the church, and the most resolute defender

of her integrity and independence. I pray you to lay to heart this lesson also, in an age when the secular seeks to dissociate itself too much from the spiritual, and we are confidently told that man's well-being will be advanced by the denial and dethronement of his Maker.

A third great lesson was taught by O'Connell in thousands of speeches, accepted with unquestioning submission by millions of brave men, and stamped with authority by the results it wrought for those who learned it. It was,—that moral force should always be preferred to physical; that peaceful agitation may be adequate to the removal of every grievance; and that the man who casts away the aid of legal action and trusts to violence,—under a constitution adequate to the needs, and, if they only will it, protective of the rights, of all,—is mad or criminal. This was the characteristic teaching of his life, to which he clung in the face of all opposition and discouragement, and which he equally maintained in the darkest and the brightest days of his weary struggle.

To one other lesson, and only one, shall I detain you by adverting. The union of Irishmen was always amongst the dearest aims of O'Connell. He laboured to induce them to work together for their common good. He longed to see established that brotherhood of affection, which, for any wise purpose and in any worthy cause, would make their combination irresistible. For this, he hoped and prayed; but the time for it had not arrived, and he failed to join in love those whom a wayward fate had put asunder. We have fallen on happier days. The motives and the means of social union are greatly multiplied. Old lines of demarcation are blotted out. Old influences, which held us in antagonism, to a large extent exist no longer. The law does not tolerate the semblance of ascendency, or place a premium on civil strife. We enjoy equality of rights,

which should involve identity of duties and of interests; and although the divisions of centuries may not be ended in an hour, the way is open for their reconcilement. It has begun. This celebration should speed it onward. There is no reason why we should not soon look back upon our gloomy history, without seeking incitements to hatred or subjects for recrimination,—regarding what is good in it with common pride, and deriving from it common guidance for our future conduct. There is no reason why we should not reciprocally recognise great qualities and heroic deeds, displayed by our forefathers in internecine feuds gone by for ever. There is no reason why the North and the South should not emulate each other in doing homage to the magnanimous endurance of Limerick and Derry, and associate in honour the gallant clergyman who held the Maiden City against all comers, and the noble exile who caught up the life-blood welling from his heart, in a foreign quarrel on a foreign field, and murmured, with his latest breath, "Would that this were for Ireland."

God speed the coming of the better time when these things shall be, and sound opinion, informed by reason and guided by the spirit of mutual charity and trust, shall lead us to wise courses and free us from our miserable broils! O Ireland!

> ——— model to thy inward greatness,
> Like little body with a mighty heart,—
> What mightst thou do, that honour would thee do,
> Were all thy children kind and natural!

Such aspirations went up often from the heart of O'Connell; and with them I may fitly conclude an imperfect effort,—attempted in circumstances of pain and difficulty,—to represent him as he was in life, and indicate some of his titles to the enduring admiration of his country and mankind.

Note to page 148.

Extract from the Circular of the Centenary Committee of the 23rd February, 1875.

City Mansion House, Dublin,
23rd February, 1875.

It is the earnest wish of every friend of O'Connell to conduct the grand ceremonial thoroughly free from sectarian or political bias; to render it, in fact, a reflexion of the breadth and the liberality of our illustrious countryman's life and labours, which aimed at the civil and religious emancipation of mankind without distinction of creed, race, or colour.

By order of the Provisional Committee,

James W. Kavanagh,
John Keegan, } *Hon. Secretaries.*

THOMAS MOORE.

Thomas Moore.

[The Moore Centenary Address : Dublin, 1878.]

FOR many reasons, I should have wished to cast on another the duty I have been asked to discharge to-day. On a memorable occasion, to which I shall allude hereafter, I strove to estimate the character of Thomas Moore, as a Poet and a Man. I cannot hope, after the lapse of many years, to speak of him more worthily; and I should have rejoiced to listen to his eulogy from some more eloquent tongue, new to the grateful task and unvexed by the tediousness of repetition. But, in my judgment, Ireland owes him a large return for the love he bore her and the gifts he lavished on her; and when I was invited to assist in making it, and told that some, more competent than myself, who should have been foremost in the effort, declined to join in it, and that whisperings derogatory to his honour and injurious to his fame had been used to discredit the celebration of his Centenary, I felt that I could not refuse the call or shrink from lending help, however humbly, to a movement in which I, at least, am proud and happy to participate.

For I felt that what, to-day, is largely done throughout the world, the Metropolis of Ireland—the birthplace of Moore, which must ever hold him in loving remembrance—is pre-eminently bound to do. There is no great town in Britain, where his countrymen have cast their lot, which will not

testify by festive gatherings,—with speech and song,—their reverence for his memory. In the East and in the West, in India and Australia and Canada and the United States—wherever our teeming race has spread its exiled myriads,—true Irish hearts are doing homage to the poet whose melodies have thrilled them with passionate emotions of joy and sadness, and kept alive the love of their old land, and pride in it and hope for it, though it is far away. I have, myself, had letters from distant countries, expressing the deepest interest in our celebration, and promising to repeat it in local assemblies, to which men of great position, high intellect, and brilliant speech will dedicate a willing service. It would not be worthy of this good old City to be silent, whilst a diapason chorus of applause from many nations proclaims the esteem in which they hold one of her noblest children, and justifies largely the aspiration and the prophecy which burst from him in one of his rarest lyrics, whilst he heard his own sweet music on the Killarney waters :—

He listen'd—while, high o'er the eagle's rude nest,
The lingering sounds on their way loved to rest :
And the echoes sung back from their full mountain quire
As if loath to let song so enchanting expire.

It seem'd as if every sweet note that died here
Was again brought to life in some airier sphere,
Some heaven in those hills, where the soul of the strain
That had ceased upon earth was awaking again !

Oh ! forgive, if while listening to music, whose breath
Seem'd to circle his fame with a charm against death,
He should feel a proud spirit within him proclaim :—
" Even so, shalt thou live in the echoes of fame !

" Even so, though thy memory should now die away,
" 'Twill be caught up again, in some happier day,
" And the hearts and the voices of Erin prolong,
" Through the answering Future, thy name and thy song ! "

We are here, to some extent, fulfilling the prophecy and realising the aspiration, and in a fashion which, though it has not been without assault from sneer and sarcasm, has been approved by the practice of mankind. A little time ago, Stratford-on-Avon witnessed a great function in honour of the foremost poet of the world. The countrymen of Burns have had endless celebrations, to prove their admiring love for

> Him who walk'd in glory and in joy,
> Beside his plough upon the mountain side!

Lately, the sunny fields of Avignon resounded with the name of Petrarch, though centuries have gone since he associated with them, for ever, his labours and his fame. With similar acclaim, Florence and Ferrara have testified their recollection of Michael Angelo and Ariosto. So, Germany has proved her admiration of Schiller; and, at this moment, Paris is preparing to inaugurate, with signal honour, the statue of Beranger, another true songster of the people, who stirred to its depths the spirit of his country, and bore, not without many shortcomings, in some of the best qualities of his intellect and some of the most striking incidents of his life, a curious resemblance to Thomas Moore.

And thus it has been, always, from age to age, that men have been moved, on stated and fit occasions, to display a grateful appreciation of those who have been eminent by intellectual achievement or social service—in literature, or art, or industry, or arms,—and they have expressed it not merely from thankfulness for benefits received, or pride in distinction reflected on themselves, but from a sense of the importance of perpetuating memories, which may awaken generous emulation and prompt to worthy deeds.

Our highest interests dictate that we should not allow

such memories to perish; but strive, with earnest sympathy, and sometimes even with generous ostentation, to prove that we value them, as amongst the best possessions which a civilised people can guard for themselves and transmit to their posterity.

You will ask no proof from me that Thomas Moore may justly claim, from Irishmen, the recognition which has thus been accorded, by their compatriots, to the gifted of other lands. Your presence here demonstrates that, to you, such proof is needless. But you know the adage: *Tempus edax rerum*—Years bring forgetfulness. You whom I address are, most of you, of a different generation from that which delighted in his living genius and watched by his mournful death-bed. It has been noted, oftentimes, that those who come soon after the departure of great men are apt to undervalue them. The excitement attendant on their loss abates, and suffers a reaction. New themes of interest and new objects of respect present themselves. The place of the departed, in the roll of enduring fame, has not yet been fixed by an unquestioned ascertainment: and many will be found to challenge his pretensions, and deny him the praise of which he is assured from the judgment of the future. I believe that something of this temporary obscuration has, for the time, affected the fame of Moore; and some of the circumstances attendant on the festival we are making, lead me to think that it is needful to remind you, as briefly as I can, of the estimation in which he was held by those who knew him, in life and death, and the qualities by which that estimation was established.

The judgment of contemporary opinion may not be decisive; but it is, at least, often of great authority.

More than twenty years ago, it was my fortune to play a leading part in the solemnity, with which his native city accompanied the unveiling of the statue of Thomas Moore.

The occasion was remarkable. It was graced by such a representation of her intelligence and worth and rank, as has rarely been seen in Ireland. For once, men of every party combined in an act of homage to one of their own nation, of whom they all were proud, and, with unwonted harmony, proclaimed their reverence for his genius, their value for his services and their interest in his fame. The genial and accomplished Viceroy identified himself with Irish feeling by eloquent praise of the Irish poet. The chair was occupied by the son of Charlemont—

> The glorious man
> Who led the van
> Of the Irish Volunteers!

The Chancellor, the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, the Surgeon-General, and other representative men, were surrounded by a gathering of all that was notable and brilliant in the society of the time, and sustained by the leading merchants and the kindly people of Dublin.

It was a worthy commemoration of an illustrious man. I look back upon it at once with pride and sadness. Every one, I believe, of the distinguished persons I have mentioned,—some of them Moore's life-long friends,—has gone to his account, and the lapse of years has dimmed the recollection of the tribute they bestowed. But the influence of that festal day survives, and should be gratefully recognised by this Metropolis. I had the privilege of making the presentation to the Municipality, and you will forgive me for recalling the words in which I told them that then, for the first time, the memorial of an Irishman was seen in the streets of the Irish capital, and that, then, we first relieved ourselves from the disgrace of neglecting the great of our own blood and lineage, and making, to the stranger who passed through our city, the false confession that we had

no men of Irish birth, worthy of public reverence. I presented it, expressing the hope and prayer that the feeling which pervaded the assembly might outlive the passing hour, and originate other celebrations of other men, whose names we ought not to allow to be forgotten.

Has not the prayer been answered and the hope fulfilled? Has not the feeling of that day been perpetuated in the statues which now populate and adorn our thoroughfares,—noble and enduring works of which, alike in their subjects and their execution, any capital in Europe might be proud? That of Moore has disappointed expectation and needs to be replaced: although, I am bound to say of one who was my friend, that it was executed by a sculptor of rare and admirable faculty in other departments of his profession. But the spirit and the purpose with which it was erected have animated us to more fortunate enterprises, and we should rejoice that the effort to honour the Irish poet, if it was not as artistically successful as it was earnest and sincere, has taken from us the reproach of indifference to those who have done credit to their country.

The function of 1857 had been often forerun by the rapturous reception which awaited Moore, whenever he appeared in Ireland. The necessities of his struggling life kept him habitually away; but his return was always the signal for a burst of popular enthusiasm.

In 1818, a crowd of the best and noblest of the land,—including Charlemont and Cloncurry, and O'Connell and Shiel, and hundreds of others—entertained him. The occasion was one of signal triumph, and was so described by Byron in a letter to Isaac D'Israeli, the father of the present Prime Minister:—"It was not less to the man than to the poet; to the tempted but unshaken patriot; to the not opulent but incorruptible fellow-citizen, that the warm-hearted Irish paid the proudest of tributes."

And that tribute was often repeated. The best men in the country were always anxious to crowd around him, and, in 1835, he was hailed in the Dublin theatre with unexampled enthusiasm by a great audience, which his own melodies had enraptured, as "The Poet of the People of Ireland." Some of those whom I address may have been witnesses of that singular scene, and may remember the wild emotion to which his speech excited his hearers, when he accepted the title and told them of the fulfilment of his own anticipation—

> The stranger shall hear thy lament o'er his plains,
> The sigh of thy harp shall be heard o'er the deep!

In Scotland, he had a similar reception at the Edinburgh theatre. He went to it in company with Sir Walter Scott; and found himself hailed with plaudits as warm and loud as ever rung from an Irish audience. "The house," said the great Scotchman, "received him with rapture. I could have hugged them for it." And, on the few occasions on which he appeared at public assemblies in England, unequivocal proof was given of the wide popularity he had established there.

I have said more than enough to show that, for the demonstration which we make to-day, we have full warrant, if any were wanting, in the distinctions already showered upon Moore. They should be remembered by any, if any there be, who take exception to the labour of love and gratitude in which we are engaged. The honour he enjoyed whilst he was amongst us ought not to be denied him, now that he has passed away. The gratitude of a people to their benefactor should not end with his capacity to serve them. Their admiration for the intellect which has enriched their language and adorned their country must not depart when its presence is no more. We are not

ashamed to echo the praise which was given to Moore, so lavishly, by the men with whom he lived.

And now I proceed to tell you, as shortly as I can, how he earned that praise, and was most worthy of it, not merely as a Poet, but also as a Man. And I will dwell, in the first place and chiefly, on his qualities in the latter aspect, because I know that, whilst few are bold enough to deny his genius, his conduct in his moral and social relations has been, even recently, the subject of a criticism which I believe to have been ungenerous and unjust; and because, with all their delight in his poetry and all their pride in his fame, I am not sure that his countrymen even yet sufficiently understand how loveable he was, how generous, how manly, and how true!

It is not easy to approach the story of his life and labours with the hope of saying much that can be of any novel interest.

The melodies which, above all things else, will perpetuate his memory, are known in every household, and have been sung more widely than any other lyrics in the world; and the incidents of his career,—which, laborious and fruitful as it was, had not the excitement or variety of a career of action,—have been narrated with brevity and clearness in works within the reach of all.

I can only ask you to bear with me if I seem to repeat a thrice-told tale, whilst I give you my own impressions of the attributes of character and conduct which, in my judgment, distinguished him as nobly as his mental gifts.

He was born, as you all know, not very far from the place in which I speak to you. He had none of the advantages of rank or fortune; and entered on the course which he made so brilliant, without a friend who had power to help him. The circumstances of the time were not favourable to his advancement. He belonged to a people

who had been but recently admitted to the enjoyment of the most ordinary civil rights: and, falling on days which tried men's souls, his sympathy was given to a ruined cause and a despairing country. He passed to England, where he made for himself acquaintances of high position and great influence. He married early a lady as penniless as himself, and, giving "hostages to fortune," he set himself manfully to fight the battle of life. He succeeded, and attained all the enjoyments which domestic happiness and wide-spread fame could give; but his existence was one of toil and struggle, burthened with the pressure of many cares, and never free from the anxiety which comes of narrow pecuniary means and heavy claims upon them. He lived in comparative poverty, relieved, at the last, by the trifling bounty which the State honoured itself by bestowing; but always, in his modest cottage, dependent on his daily labour for his daily bread.

His memoirs were edited by Lord Russell, not in the best fashion, or with the result most favourable to his reputation. The work was undertaken from kindly motives, but executed without sufficient care. The arrangement of the matter was not satisfactory, and much of it might have been omitted with advantage. It was seized upon by enemies of Moore, and he was assailed with savage virulence. Even lately, as I have said, there has been a renewal of insolent imputation against him, as one who was selfish and sensual,—who affected the society of the great unduly, and lowered himself to the position of a tuft-hunting parasite. Nothing, in my judgment, can be more entirely false.

He rejoiced in intercourse with his fellow-men, and not the less if they were of high breeding and liberal culture, and capable, from their circumstances, of affording gratification to delicate and discriminating tastes. But, in such

…seeker. His com-
…most pleasure on those
…Lord Byron, "is the
…personal or poetical
…sparkled with quaint
…singing was described by
…ever heard": and by
…in fine music." His
…spirit diffused their
…peared; and when he was
…the idol of his own,"
…flattering descrip-
…the homage which was
…he was attracted to assemblies
…the exhibition of his
…their grateful enjoyment and
…he was the sought, and not the
…himself to gain admission to
…without perfect dignity
…the Prince Regent, at Carlton
…conditions were opulent and
…he did not hesitate to answer
…one of the honestest tradesmen
…he ever asserted himself, with
…firmness.

…book, when it appeared,
…on the whole, the picture
…his independence under all
…true to his principles and
…by the blandishments of
…incapable of base-
…his family and friends, full of
…always, without
…the spirit of heroic self-

sacrifice. That is the picture which has ever since dwelt in my memory: and you will scarcely wonder that, on this occasion, I prefer to press it on your attention, rather than to occupy the little time at my disposal, by praise of works on which the world has set the broad seal of its approval, or by a re-hash of criticisms which have long grown stale. A word or two, to show that the picture has been drawn according to the truth.

In 1818, at the great Dublin banquet to which I have alluded, Lord Charlemont said of Thomas Moore: "His character may be expressed in three words, Patriotism, Independence, Consistency." For many years after that eulogy was spoken, he lived through the vicissitudes of a troubled life; but he never ceased to merit it, until his race was run.

He had early occasion to demonstrate the manliness of his nature. He entered Trinity College and read for a scholarship. But, when he had proved his right to it, and could only obtain it by compromise of conscience and abandonment of faith, he scouted the dishonouring conditions and lost the fruit of his labour. And again, when he was required to give evidence before the collegiate authorities as to the conduct of students involved in the rebellious movement of that terrible time,—with which he was not connected,—he risked expulsion from the University and exclusion from the professions, rather than give utterance to a word which might injure his young associates.

Many of those who are around me, to-day, have no favour for his political opinions. But they will not the less on that account allow his claim to the name of patriot. He clung to Ireland with an intense and unchanging affection, which is testified by every act of his life and every page of his writings: and all who, now or hereafter,

may cherish true attachment to her, whatever may be their honest varieties of sentiment, will find in him,—when they have eliminated all they can disapprove in his dealings with temporary struggles and the passions they aroused,—an Irishman with whose love for Ireland and constant desire to promote her welfare they can have cordial sympathy. According to his conception of her interests and his own duty, he was stanch to her, in periods of the worst discouragement as in those of the highest hope; and he refused, for her sake, to falsify his convictions when he might have gained place and power, by giving even silent countenance to public action of which he disapproved.

For these things, he should command the respect of men of every creed and party. But, by the majority of Irishmen, he is entitled to be regarded with a far warmer feeling; and that feeling, even in this mixed assembly, one who cherishes it deeply will not be forbidden to express. I speak of it as referring to an event long past,—as an Englishman might speak of Runnymede or a Scotchman of Bannockburn. During the long struggle for Emancipation, he never failed or faltered, for an hour, in urging the claims of the Catholics of Ireland. By playful wit, by pungent sarcasm, by vehement invective,—with all the energy of his soul and all the resources of his genius,—he pressed them on a reluctant Legislature and a hostile people. And the influence he exerted was incalculable. Circles into which political agitation could never break opened freely to the pleadings of the poet. The same melodious voice, which roused the Irish millions to remember they had a country, and rely on themselves for their own political salvation, resounded in the halls and salons of the British aristocracy, dispelling prejudice and denouncing wrong, with a power and sweetness which touched many a heart and awakened many a conscience, theretofore hardened

against the cold appeals of justice. The strife is over and the victory achieved. We are fast forgetting the envenomed hatreds and cruel struggles of other days. We will yet learn, with God's blessing, to trust each other and love each other, as if they had never been. But, in the prosperous harmony of a better time, the enfranchised masses of the Irish people can never be such ingrates as to forget the noble service they owed, in their hour of trial, to the courage and the faithfulness of Thomas Moore.

And if his patriotism be undeniable, can any one doubt of the independence and consistency which, in the view of Lord Charlemont, made his character complete? I venture to say that no man, of whom we have authentic record, was more distinguished by those high qualities. He was placed in circumstances most adverse to the cultivation of them. He was poor. He had to procure, by continuous effort, the ordinary comforts of existence. He moved amongst the wealthy and the great, many of whom had strong attachment to him and would have been happy to supply his wants. He had faculties of brain and pen, invaluable to any party which could have procured the use of them. He loved his relatives with a devoted affection, which might have prompted any sacrifice to elevate them and advance their interests. Briefly, he had the amplest opportunities of commanding a profitable dependence, and the strongest temptations to employ them. And he could have done so, without any flagrant impropriety or any forfeiture of the world's esteem. But he refused. He endured his poverty and preserved his honour. He lived and died a self-relying, self-abnegating, self-respecting man, and left to posterity an example of independence—seldom more needed than at the present hour—which, so far as I know, has not had many parallels.

By instinct or reflection, Moore seems to have appre-

[redacted]

[redacted] of those [redacted] have aroused so many [redacted] in behalf of their reputations.—[redacted] I have no wish to be master[redacted] [redacted] the moral sense and, [redacted] sentiment of honour [redacted]

[redacted] that ever lay
[redacted] have taken half his worth away!

[redacted] Moore avoided by [redacted] favours from his friends. Lady [redacted] a kind little thing that no one would ever [redacted]' He was always, as [redacted] embarrassing man. The *res angusta domi* was [redacted] over and over again, he had the [redacted] assistance. He might have filled [redacted] He was pressed to accept [redacted] knew his needs, and could [redacted] the slightest inconvenience [redacted] But he steadfastly resisted. [redacted] by mentally avoiding super[redacted] adhering to modest expenditure [redacted] He sustained his [redacted] and, at his death, owed [redacted]

[redacted] had not the means of paying [redacted] needful help to his

extent that he was obliged to fly from England, crushed by a loss he had small prospect of retrieving—Lord Moira offered him patronage which might have freed him from all anxiety about the future, and his answer was:—"I would rather struggle on as I am, than take anything that would have the effect of tying up my tongue under such a system as the present." Yet, at the time when he made that magnanimous reply, he was obliged to ask his publisher, Power, for an advance of two or three pounds, as he had not, Lord Russell says, "a single sixpence in the house."

I could multiply the cases in which he proved his resolution to enjoy, at any sacrifice,

> The glorious privilege
> Of being independent.

But, surely, no more are needful to justify the praise of Lord Charlemont, and commend to all of us, in this aspect of it, the inspiring lesson of his life. "Although," says Lord Russell, "the wolf of poverty often prowled round his door, he never abandoned his humble dwelling for the safety of the city or the protection of the palace!"

And the independence which was thus dear to him, in private life, he as thoroughly exhibited in his public conduct. He called no man master. He asserted his freedom of judgment, without respect of persons. He declined, as I have said, the tempting patronage of a party to which he was opposed, not because he was asked to be guilty of political apostacy, but lest he should be obliged to abstain from active opposition to it.

To the Whigs, he was attached by many ties. His principles were mainly theirs. He had received great kindness from their leaders. He delighted in their society, and lived amongst them on the most familiar terms. But when they were raised to power, and dealt with Ireland in

a mode he disapproved, he uttered his indignation in scathing words, at the risk of sacrificing friendships which were dear to him and connexions of which he was justly proud. He speaks of the verses in which he expressed his feelings as "extorted" from him by "that lamentable measure, the Irish Coercion Act"; and I shall only cite one of them, from the "Moral" to "Paddy's Metamorphosis," as indicating the boldness and bitterness of his assault:—

> 'Tis thus—but alas! by a marvel more true
> Than is told in this rival of Ovid's best stories,
> Your Whigs when in office a short year or two,
> By a *lusus naturæ* all turn into Tories.

And again, when—after that Emancipation he had done so much to win—events occurred in Ireland which disappointed his hopes and irritated his feelings, he did not hesitate to speak harshly of a people whom he loved. He was proud of their admiration, and delighted in their attachment; but, to the peril of both, again he asserted his freedom, and spoke his sad thoughts in these passionate words:—

> The dream of those days when first I sung thee is o'er;
> Thy triumph hath stain'd the charms thy sorrows then wore:
> And ev'n of the light which Hope once shed o'er thy chains,
> Alas! not a gleam to grace thy freedom remains.
>
> Say, is it that slavery sunk so deep in thy heart,
> That still the dark brand is there, though chainless thou art;
> And Freedom's sweet fruit, for which thy spirit long burn'd,
> Now reaching, at last, thy lip, to ashes hath turn'd?
>
> Up Liberty's steep by Truth and Eloquence led,
> With eyes on her temple fix'd, how proud was thy tread!
> Ah, better thou ne'er hadst lived that summit to gain,
> Or died in the porch, than thus dishonour the fane!

This is no political assembly, and it does not concern us to say whether, in writing thus of his friends and his

country, Moore was right or wrong; but the stinging passages I have cited prove, beyond doubt, that he held himself free to utter, under all circumstances, his true convictions, and was equally undeterred from speaking them by the trammels of party and the fear of popular disapproval.

The verses I have last quoted offended O'Connell; but he was soon reconciled with Moore, and pressed him strongly to come into the House of Commons. The people of Limerick offered to buy a qualifying estate. He declined the gift, as embarrassing his political action. It is singular enough that Beranger also refused a seat in the Legislature of his country, and preferred to die, as he had lived, almost in penury, rather than subject himself to restraining obligations towards those who had the power and the will to make him rich.

I have spoken more than enough to justify the triple eulogy of Lord Charlemont; and you, at least, will not deny to Thomas Moore the praise of consistency, patriotism, and independence. But I should fail in my duty if I did not, for a moment, dwell on another aspect of his life, in which he seems to me specially worthy of affectionate remembrance. I speak of his relations with his family—his parents and his wife. His conduct towards them all was full of gracious tenderness and practical devotion. From the hour when he quitted his Irish home to make his way in England, he was always, as I have said, in straitened circumstances, and often hardly pressed by the necessities of the current hour; but he never failed to help those he had left behind. He never spared himself when he could give them comfort; and his liberality was bounded only by the means of its indulgence.

He treated his father with a reverence which could not have been more profound if the good old man had boasted

the proudest ancestry and the amplest fortune. When, in 1818, he sat, in his full "noon of fame," amongst the chiefs of his people, that father was beside him and shared his honours. To his mother—plain and simple woman as she was—his attachment was intense as it was enduring. In the midst of his labours, his trials, and his triumphs, he never failed to write to her twice in every week. She had no capacity for maintaining a correspondence of interest to him on any general topics; but, until she died, he persisted in lavishing his words of affection, and proving to her continually how well she was remembered and how fondly she was loved. Forgive me if I am tempted to read to you the sweet verses he once addressed to her:—

They tell us of an Indian tree,
  Which—howsoe'er the sun and sky
May tempt its boughs to wander free
  And shoot and blossom wide and high—
Far better loves to bend its arms
  Downward again to that dear earth
From which the life that fills and warms
  Its grateful being first had birth.
'Tis thus, though woo'd by flattering friends,
  And fed with fame, if fame it be,
This heart, my own dear mother, bends
  With love's true instinct back to thee!

With his beautiful and gentle wife he enjoyed, in his own words, "perfect happiness." The story of their lives reads like a charming idyl. In their early union, they gave little heed to considerations of worldly prudence. Throughout their lives, they had often gloomy days and hard struggles, and, at the last, bereavements which brought desolation to their childless home. But they clung to each other with an unfailing fondness, which gave them strength and courage through all vicissitudes. Of the husband, Lord Russell testifies that his most engaging as well as his most

powerful passions were "his domestic affections"; and of the wife, Mrs. Hall has told us, in the recollections with which she has enriched Mr. Hall's generous and sympathetic "Memory of Moore," for which we and Ireland are indebted to one of our fastest friends,—that her reverence for him was unbounded, and that she watched over him as a mother watches over a tender child,—"with the most wonderful blending of admiration, duty, and lovingness."

It is a beautiful picture—a singular realisation of the ideal of a united and happy household, and not unworthy to be associated with that which I have endeavoured to present of the public life of Moore. Taken in the concrete and altogether, his personal character, so displayed, appears to me as worthy of respect as any yet revealed to us in the biographies of illustrious men.

I say this boldly, but not forgetting his acts and words which challenge disapproval. He had his share of human weaknesses and errors. In his youth, he published poems which were indefensible, and some of his earlier letters speak of matters, political and religious, in terms which I, at least, feel bound strongly to reprobate. But when we remember the misleading influences to which he was exposed in the commencement of his life, and the confessions and regrets of his maturer years, we may pity the weaknesses and deplore the errors, without refusal of the praise which is his due.

As to "Little's Poems," nothing need be said, but that he lamented bitterly that unhappy publication. Rogers saw him "shed tears, tears of deep contrition," when he was talking of it; and Jeffrey, who had assailed it sternly, afterwards declared that he had long redeemed himself, and appeared as "the eloquent champion of purity, fidelity, and delicacy, not less than of justice, liberty, and honour." The conduct of his life, in his private relations, was a con-

tinual protest against the prurient folly of his boyhood; and we should do ourselves little credit, as Christians or as men, if we refused to condone it and yield him the justice he anticipated, in words you will all remember:—

> The bard to purer fame may soar,
> When wild youth's past:
> And win the wise, who frown'd before,
> To smile at last!

As to the imputations against him on religious grounds, of which, in a mixed assembly, it is difficult to speak, I shall only say that the society in which his youth was passed was largely imbued with the infidel spirit of the French Revolution, and that its influence upon him was not encountered by any corrective force, in that to which he was afterwards attracted in England. Those who think with me must deeply lament that, in after years, he did not give practical effect to his early training, and make his conduct accord with his consistent profession of belief.

And they will not wonder that some of his keenest griefs may have come from that want of the inculcation of definite religious principles upon his children, which is too often the evil consequence of marriage between persons of different creeds.

Lord Russell, a very unimpeachable witness on such a matter, tells us that "he always adhered to the Roman Catholic Church":—and, when he was asked to abandon it, his answer was: "I was born and bred in the faith of my fathers, and in that faith I intend to die."

Unhappily, long before his death, it pleased God to visit him with that affliction which has befallen so many men of genius. His fine intellect was darkened. His powers of judgment and will were gone. And those who are most true to that Church, in which he had declared his resolve

to die, will be slow in condemning harshly one who so laboured, as I have striven to tell you, to raise her from the civil thraldom in which she had lain,—

> Down in the dust and a shame to be seen ;

who has dealt with her so nobly in his lyrics,—and so vindicated her principles and asserted her authority, in one of the latest and ablest of his works.

Moore rebuked Byron, in the zenith of his fame, for the blasphemous licence of his language; told him that Faith was a treasure not lightly to be parted with, and strove to guard him against the evil influence of Shelley's infidel opinions.

Will you forgive me for repeating to you the verses in which he addressed his ancient Church in her day of persecution, under the guise of an Irish Girl; and the perfect lines, believed by himself, it has been said, to have been the finest of all his compositions, as to the blessedness of that Heaven to which we all aspire?

Thus mystically sings the Irish Peasant to his Mistress :—

> Thy rival was honour'd, whilst thou wert wrong'd and scorn'd ;
> Thy crown was of briers, whilst gold her brows adorn'd.
> She woo'd me to temples, whilst thou lay'st hid in caves ;
> Her friends were all masters, whilst thine, alas ! were slaves ;
> Yet cold in the earth at thy feet I would rather be,
> Than wed what I loved not, or turn one thought from thee.
>
> They slander thee sorely who say thy vows are frail,
> Hadst thou been a false one thy cheek had look'd less pale.
> They say, too, so long thou hast worn those lingering chains,
> That deep in thy heart they have printed their servile stains.
> Oh ! foul is the slander—no chain could that soul subdue—
> Where shineth *thy* spirit, there liberty shineth too.

To some of us, these words will always be peculiarly and deeply touching. By every one, their pathos must be admired, and not less the grace and sweetness of the

others to which I have referred, and which I proceed to recal to your recollection :—

This world is all a fleeting show,
For man's illusion given ;
The smiles of Joy, the tears of Woe,
Deceitful shine, deceitful flow,—
There's nothing true, but Heaven !

And false the light on Glory's plume
As fading hues of even ;
And Love and Hope and Beauty's bloom
Are blossoms gather'd for the tomb ;—
There's nothing bright, but Heaven !

Poor wanderers of a stormy day !
From wave to wave we're driven ;
And Fancy's flash and Reason's ray
Serve but to light the troubled way—
There's nothing calm, but Heaven !

I think it right to repeat what I have already said, that I have deliberately devoted so large a portion of my address to a consideration of the personal, as distinguished from the literary, character of Moore, because I have reason to believe that, whilst the latter will always assert itself and command appreciation, the prejudices which assailed the former,—when he was living and after he was dead,—still haunt some honest minds, and persuade them to deny him justice. The foulness of detraction has not ceased to defile his memory ; and I have thought it fitting that, at least on Irish soil, he should find an Irish vindicator, and that Irishmen should be taught, in spite of his human failings, to respect his virtue as they admire his genius.

Of that genius and the multiform treasures it has bequeathed to us, I have left myself no time to speak becomingly. Nor is it needful that I should attempt to do so. You are acquainted with his labours even better than with his life. For very many of us, his unforgotten words have

precious associations with memorable epochs of our lives,—with scenes of beauty, and nights of enjoyment, and events of interest, and dear ones who are gone. You come to honour, and not to criticise, the poet of your country. You treat him as a friend, who has long been familiar to your homes.

Perhaps, however, I should not fail to note that, in richness of intellectual accomplishment,—in capacity of mental toil,—in variety of curious learning,—in brilliancy of wit and power of sarcasm,—he will bear comparison with the best of his contemporaries.

Of his prose writings, I am content to say, that they were worthy of the remarkable popularity and approval with which they all were welcomed. The "Life of Sheridan," disfigured though it was by some faults of taste, was an important contribution to our political history. "The Epicurean" is the most charming of poems in prose,—enriched by a recondite scholarship. "Captain Rock," no longer, as at first, the subject of passionate attack, continues to delight us by its abounding humour, although it describes times which are happily departed, and aimed at results which have been substantially achieved. The pathetic beauty and simple truthfulness of the "Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald" will always move the heart: and the lucid narrative of the "Life of Byron,"—"deserving," as the competent criticism of Macaulay pronounced it, "to be classed amongst the best specimens of English prose which any age has produced,"—remains a model for the biographers of the future. His satirical and humorous poems are, in one sense, the most remarkable of the productions of Moore. They are characteristic and unique. They forced from Hazlitt a reluctant eulogy—describing them as "essences," and "nests of spicery,"—even whilst he lampooned the Melodies, perhaps under the

influence of the irritation he endured, when Moore strove to rescue Byron from the clique of "The Liberal." I do not believe that the political literature of Europe can match those pasquinades.

Of his "Travels of an Irish Gentleman," men, of course, will judge according to their several views of a great controversy: but, whatever we may think of the conclusions to which the book would lead us, there can be no question as to the learning and the logic with which it abounds.

In his "History of Ireland" he made a laborious and conscientious effort to accomplish a very necessary work, with such knowledge and materials as were within his reach. They were often used effectively; and it contains frequent passages of felicity and power. But the knowledge was not profound, and the materials were inadequate; and Moore would have better consulted for his reputation if he had abstained from an undertaking to which, in many respects, his training and position made him unequal. It was not his fault that he had not access to the original sources of information, which still, in spite of the labours of O'Curry, O'Donovan, and many others, have been insufficiently approached. We should be grateful for the spirit in which he addressed himself to his task, and his earnest endeavour to achieve it; although he inevitably left it incomplete and was painfully conscious of his failure.

Of his great Oriental poem, I shall only observe, that whilst its brilliancy may be sometimes too continuous, and its exuberance of fancy too unrestrained, it has passages of wonderful power over which, as was said by Lord Jeffrey, "the very genius of poetry seems to have breathed his richest enchantment." He exhausted upon it the labour of years; acquired, in connexion with it, a rare acquaintance with Oriental history and life and scenery and manners; and was rewarded by the great success which it achieved,

at home and abroad. And it is not yet forgotten in other lands, for we have very lately seen the Chancellor of the German Empire, "the man of blood and iron," seeking, in the Veiled Prophet of the Irish minstrel, illustration of his argument before the Reichstag.

I pass from any attempt at a further estimate of works which, with the National and Sacred Melodies, would of themselves give ample justification for Moore's title to high literary eminence. But on his lyrics, more than all things else, his fame will permanently rest. If any of the poetry of the century survives, they will not be forgotten. They have gone home to the heart of Ireland, and they will live in it, whilst it is capable of generous or grateful emotion. They have taken their rank in the literature of Europe, and that rank is high and sure. As in the Heaven of faith there are many mansions, in the world of song there are various gifts; and we should be slow to make invidious distinctions or suggest conflicting claims, between some of the noblest benefactors of our species,—

> The gentle poets who have made us heirs
> Of truth and pure delight in deathless lays!

Moore has his own place and his own glory; "unrivalled," as was said by a great critic, "in one exquisite department of his art, delightful in many." He has been as little spared assaults on his literary reputation as on the conduct of his life. But they need not trouble us. Time has done him justice. Whilst he lived, he had, probably, a wider popularity than any man of his day; and, since his death, that popularity has been indefinitely diffused, with the ever-widening expansion of the races which speak the tongue of England.

I visited the British Museum lately, and, looking through its great folio catalogue, I found sixty-four pages devoted

exclusively to various editions, in various languages, of the works of Moore,—surely an impressive proof of his large approval by the world.

On such an occasion, I should be rebuked by voices from the past if I dishonoured him, by troubling you with notice of futile attempts to lower unduly the literary position of a man to whom Shelley avowed himself "proud to acknowledge his inferiority," and of whose melodies Byron declared that, to him, they were worth "all the epics that ever were composed."

Amongst the lyrists of European lands, Burns, Béranger, and Moore are confessedly the first. Of Burns and Moore, Professor Wilson,—himself a poet, a Scot of the Scots, an idolator of his great countryman,—speaks thus, in words worthy of remembrance on a day like this:—"Of all the song-writers that ever warbled, or chaunted, or sung, the best, in our estimation, is verily no other than Thomas Moore. . . . . In richness, in variety, in grace, and in the power of art, he is superior to the Ploughman." And Augustine Thierry, one of the most eminent of modern Frenchmen,—the contemporary of Béranger and Moore,—describes him as, at once, like the bards of old, a poet and musician,—adding to the inspiration of ruder times all the graces of an advanced civilisation, and invoking the ancient airs of Ireland to aid the cause of liberty and justice.

Moore and Béranger were born within a year of each other. They were both in the prime of their lives and the fulness of their powers when Thierry wrote thus in 1820; yet he concludes with an earnest aspiration that a poet might arise to do for France what Moore had done for Ireland!

I do not ask you to concur with the enthusiastic estimates of Shelley, and Byron, and Wilson, and Thierry, to which others, of high authority, might easily be added.

Opinions may differ about their accuracy—and I am not disposed to deny that some of them exaggerate his merits; but I present them to you as dispensing me from any necessity of argumentative assertion of those merits; and as suggesting, when such men have so spoken, a modest distrust of their own superior judgment to some who, in recent times, have ventured to assail him.

His literary claims have found wide and generous acknowledgment; but for us, in Ireland, Moore has a fame which rests on even more impregnable foundations, and which we are bound to cherish as more peculiarly our own. To him, above all others, we owe the preservation of our ancient music, its redemption from base and vulgar uses, and its cordial reception by the world. And for this great service we shall be, in my judgment, always his debtors. That music had been, from pre-historic times, one of the most prized endowments of the Irish people. The bardic system was characteristic of the Celtic tribes; and, in Ireland, it was knit up with the national polity, and was an influence of power on the national life. The bard was held in honour. The airs which he inherited or produced were handed down, from generation to generation, with reverential care; and, accordingly, when the meeting of the harpers, to which I shall immediately refer, took place at the end of the eighteenth century, it was found that, coming from the most distant places, they played the same tunes, in the same key, and with the same expression. In the twelfth century, Giraldus Cambrensis, a Welsh ecclesiastic, who showed no special favour to the Irish race, testified that their instruction in musical instruments was incomparably superior to that of any nation he had known. "In musicis instrumentis commendabilem invenio istius gentis diligentiam, in quibus præ omni natione quam vidimus incomparabiliter est instructa."

The music of Ireland has been described as "the truest of all comments on our history"—by turns turbulent and soft,—defiant and despondent,—alternating between levity and sadness. Its airs were perishing when Moore was born. A barbarous legislation had aimed to extinguish the minstrelsy of Ireland. The bards fell with the great houses which had cherished them; and when the gloom of the penal days was beginning to be dissipated, the music which had resounded in ancestral halls was heard only in the hut or by the wayside,—at the pattern or the wake; and the harpers, who had once been maintained in competence and dignity, became homeless wanderers, and were fast ceasing to exist, with the melodious deposit of which they were the guardians. Happily, before it had been lost, an assembly of those who remained,—I think they were seven in number,—was convened in 1792, at Belfast, by men who loved their country,—the chief of whom, I am proud to remember, was the beneficent physician, James McDonnell, who, in his green old age, was the kindest friend of my own early days. The tunes they had preserved were collected by Edward Bunting, and published, in 1796 and afterwards, and so rescued from the oblivion which had seemed inevitable. The achievement, for our nation and the world, was beyond price or praise.

But much more was wanting for the safety and the honour of our dear old music. It needed some one who could clothe it in fitting words and commend it to popular acceptance. It needed a gifted man to interpret the spirit and character of Ireland,—her fancy and her feeling,—her sorrows and her hopes. It needed that the "inarticulate poetry" of sound should find verbal expression, and that the strains which had floated down through the ages,—so sweet, so various, so marvellously expressing, in their pathos and their mirthfulness, the changeful phases of the

Irish nature—should, at last, be "married to immortal verse."

As I have said, in 1792, the harpers met, and Bunting was preparing his collections, whilst Moore was practising on a broken harpsichord, which his father had taken in discharge of a trifling debt. Opportunity and capacity to use it are the conditions of success in human affairs. He discovered his faculty for music and his vocation as a poet; and the melodies he learned to love induced him to exercise the one and to pursue the other, until he became, for Ireland, in Shelley's words,—

The sweetest lyrist of her saddest wrong.

In the earliest advertisement of the melodies, Moore said that, if Burns had been an Irishman, "his heart would have been proud of such music and he would have made it immortal." He had not then tested his own powers, and could scarcely have anticipated that he himself was destined to give it immortality. But we may fairly apply his words to his accomplished work. Petrie recognised the fact, that the finest of our airs obtained their just appreciation in later days, less from a sense of their intrinsic merit than from their union with lyrics which seized on the popular attention; and thus it was that Moore saved them from degradation, and made them a present service, and a possession for all time, to his country and his race.

Very long ago, in words too old to be now remembered, I said that he did for us what we wanted, and no one had done before him. Exquisitely organised in soul and sense, he gathered up the fragments of our melodies, and associated them with songs such as had not been heard in latter days. Those songs have resounded wherever the English tongue—destined, as it seems, to become the

dominant language of mankind—is borne by the millions who utter it throughout the earth. They are resounding still beneath Eastern suns and amidst Canadian snows,—in the forests of the West, and at the Antipodes, where young empires begin their conquering progress. The same sweet words, coupled with the same old music, have been heard throughout Christendom, and far beyond it,—have been sung by the Frenchman and the Russian, the Persian and the Pole,—and thus have the name, and the history, and the genius of our land been made familiar to distant nations, and we have all been exalted by claiming, as our own, one of the greatest lyrists of the world.

I have striven to put before you some of the grounds on which Ireland, to-day, does honour to her Poet. Much more I might wish to say about him; but I cannot detain you longer from the great enjoyment which is provided for you. If, within the space at my command, I have not been able to speak of him fitly, I have spoken, at least, with earnest feeling and hearty purpose; and, in the concert which is coming, he will speak far better for himself. He said that his songs, to be appreciated, should be sung, not read, and your ears are still ringing with his own apostrophe:—

> Music! Oh how faint, how weak,
> Language fades before thy spell,
> Why should Feeling ever speak,
> When thou canst breathe her soul so well?

In his own exquisite melodies, he will best vindicate, for himself, his claim upon his country; and the sentiments of national pride and national thankfulness with which we acknowledge it will be more aptly expressed, than by any dull prose of mine, in the brilliant Ode, inspired by kindred

genius, which will be commended to you by all the graces of a consummate elocution.*

I thank you for the kindness with which you have heard me; and I congratulate you on your complete success, despite untoward circumstances, in a generous endeavour to make worthy of Thomas Moore a tribute to his memory, to which all who have taken a part in offering it may look back hereafter with proud and satisfied remembrance.

* The address was followed by the recital of an ode of singular power and beauty, composed by the lamented Denis Florence MacCarthy, and delivered, with masterly effect, by the Rev. Dr. Tisdall, Chancellor of Christ Church.

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

[This Paper was one of a Series of "Afternoon Readings on Literature and Art," at the Museum, Stephen's Green, Dublin, in 1866.]

WHEN I proposed to myself to speak to you of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, I was prompted by pleasant memories of earlier days, when I was somewhat familiar with his writings, and filled with admiration of his genius. I had not very recently recurred to the fragments of Philosophy and Song bequeathed by him,—poorly representing his own manifold and marvellous endowments, but still sufficient, in their beauty and their power, to fix his impress on the intelligence of every English-speaking people. Preparing to address you, I have glanced through them again, after a long lapse of years, with a renewal of all my old delight and reverence; —but they have affected me with an almost painful sense of the temerity of my endeavour to present, in a lecture such as this, any adequate delineation of the intellectual life and action of one who, more perhaps than any other of his time, might claim the epithet which he made current in our language, and be fitly called a "myriad-minded" man. I can only touch, lightly and imperfectly, under such circumstances, so large a theme; but I may, at least, hope to awaken some useful recollection of the scholar, the thinker, and the poet, whose spirit had long high mastery over the young mind of England, and greatly shaped the current of

speculation and the character of literary effort, amongst her foremost men. With the rank and file of the reading public, his history and his works have never been popular, and, even to an audience such as I address, some reference to them, now that more than thirty years have come and gone since his departure, may not be altogether without novelty and interest.

Coleridge was born in 1772. His father, the vicar and schoolmaster of a parish in Devonshire, seems to have been a simple man, with much classical and scientific reading. He had a large family, and he allowed the youngest of them, of whom I speak, to have very much his own way, and to follow his own fancy. He was, according to his own account, from his earliest boyhood, "a playless day-dreamer, a *heluo librorum*." He read all the books he could procure, and they and his musings on them constituted his enjoyment. He never herded with other children,—never, as he says, "thought as a child or had the language of a child";—and so much the worse for him it was, in all his after years. But, he was happy in his dreamland. He speaks of his keen delight in the "Arabian Nights"; and putting the question, "Ought children to be allowed to read romances, and stories of giants, magicians, and genii?"—he answers: "I have formed my faith in the affirmative. I know no other way of giving the mind a love for the great and the whole."

Judge Buller, who was educated by his father, procured for him a presentation to Christ's Hospital; and thither he went, and entered on the pursuits, in which his life was to spend itself, at a very early period. Before his fifteenth year, he had plunged into all the mysteries of Metaphysics, and, having a library at his command, he ran through every book, treating of that subject or of theological controversy, on which he could lay his hands. At Christ's Hospital he

formed the friendship with Charles Lamb, "his dearest, best-loved, and earliest associate," which never ceased during their existence. Long after, Lamb celebrated the events of that early period in one of his most charming essays—"Christ's Hospital, Five-and-Thirty Years ago"; —and thus he describes the "marvellous boy," in terms which might not inaptly picture him in his maturity: "Come back into memory," Lamb says, "like as thou wert in the day-spring of thy fancies, with hope like a fiery column before thee—the dark pillar not turned—Samuel Taylor Coleridge,—Logician, Metaphysician, Bard! How have I seen the casual passer through the cloister stand still, entranced with admiration (while he weighed the disproportion between the speech and the garb of the young Mirandula), to hear thee unfold, in thy deep and sweet intonations, the mysteries of Iamblichus or Plotinus (for, even at those years, thou waxedst not pale at such philosophic draughts), or reciting Homer in his Greek, or Pindar, whilst the walls of the old Grey Friars re-echoed to the accents of the inspired charity-boy!"

In after days, Coleridge spoke bitterly of his "preposterous pursuit" of abstruse speculation, at such an age, as having been injurious to his natural powers and the progress of his education. And the lesson of his life, in this regard, is not without its worth; for there is grievous danger, alike to the faith and the intelligence of the youth who, with untrained faculties and imperfect knowledge, sets himself to consider the great problems which in all ages have puzzled the wisest of mankind, and need to be approached, not with a light audacity or a flippant sciolism, but in the ripeness of thought, and with a solemn sense of responsibility, if we would not run the risk of unsettling conviction, and substituting, in its place, indifference to the eternal distinctions between truth and falsehood.

Coleridge attributes his escape from destructive consequences, such as these, mainly to the genial influence of poetry, which led him to cultivate "his fancy and the love of nature, and the sense of beauty in forms and sounds." He became a student of poetry; and he never ceased to express the admiration with which he regarded the sonnets of Mr. Bowles, and his gratitude for their useful influence on his mind. They appeared in his seventeenth year, and stirred him to such enthusiasm, that he made forty transcriptions of the entire book, in order to present them to his friends, for whom he could not afford to purchase copies. And, till his latest hour, he cherished the sentiment which he has embodied in one of his sweetest sonnets:—

My heart has thank'd thee, Bowles, for those soft strains
  Whose sadness soothes me, like the murmuring
  Of wild bees in the sunny showers of spring.
For hence, not callous to the mourner's pains,
Through youth's gay prime and thornless paths I went;
  And when the mightier throes of mind began,
  And drove me forth, a thought-bewilder'd man,
Their mild and manliest melancholy lent
A mingled charm, such as the pang consign'd
  To slumber, though the big tear it renew'd;
  Bidding a strange, mysterious pleasure brood
Over the wavy and tumultuous mind:
  As the Great Spirit erst, with plastic sweep,
  Moved on the darkness of the unform'd deep.

He entered Cambridge in 1791. He read largely, but irregularly, and gained few collegiate honours; and in 1793, pressed by some pecuniary difficulties, and in a fit of despondency, he enlisted as a private in a regiment of Light Dragoons. He took the name of Comberbacke, and his true character was discovered by one of the officers, who found inscribed by him on a stable-door: "*Eheu!*

quam infortunii miserrimum est fuisse felicem!" Which I may render in the lines of Tennyson :—

> For a sorrow's crown of sorrow
> Is remembering happier days!

Coleridge ceased to be a soldier after a service of four months; but he never completed his academic course, and soon passed to another field of action.

In 1794, he became acquainted with Robert Southey, and formed relations with that eminent man which affected very much the fortunes of his life. They married sisters, became identified for a time in their views and aspirations, and contemplated the establishment of a new community beyond the Atlantic, in accordance with notions which were then very prevalent in the world, and which we should now call "socialistic." It was the time when the French Revolution had shattered down old systems, and brought into question old opinions, and startled the nations by many a fantastic theory, and many an inspiring hope. Men dreamed of an impossible equality and a perfect reign of justice; of the restoration of the "golden time" which knew no poverty or sin; of a material Paradise and a mundane immortality. Godwin gravely prophesied, in his "Political Justice," that the life of human beings would, at last, be made perennial upon earth; and Coleridge and Southey proposed to prove, experimentally, on the banks of the Susquehannah, that, in the meantime, and before that consummation, they might dispense with the obsolete institution of individual property, and hold all things in common. However, the project had no issue in fact. And although there were joyous evenings, in which, as Charles Lamb said, he sat with his friend at the "Cat and Salutation," reading poetry and speculating on Pantisocracy, "drinking egg-hot and smoking Oronooko," the enthusiasts never realised their

scheme, but remained in England to help, it may be over-much, when the glitter of the vision faded and the reaction came, the foes of all political and social innovation.

Coleridge then began to lecture; and those who desire to appreciate his early efforts in that way will find specimens of his manner of speech in his "Conciones ad Populum," and "The Plot Discovered." But on these I do not linger, nor on his abortive attempt to establish the *Watchman*, a journal which endured only for a few weeks. He seems to me to have been unfortunate in attempting, from time to time, to connect himself with periodical literature. His range of vision was too wide, his imagination too teemingly suggestive, his "large discourse of reason" too much conversant with the abstract and the permanent in speculation, to permit easily of the concentration, the point and the completeness, in narrow space, which must be achieved by the prosperous journalist. Add to this, that his habits were very desultory; that procrastination cursed him through all his life; and we shall not wonder that his *Watchman* failed; that his contributions to the *Morning Post* and *Courier*,—though they were sometimes redolent of the high faculty of which it was, indeed, true to say, *nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*, and though they were much praised by the proprietor of the papers, Mr. Stuart, and gained for those papers increased circulation and popularity,—were yet not very worthy of him; and that the *Friend* itself, abounding in deep thought and noble language, had a brief career, and remains an indigested mass of admirable papers, individually of the highest value, but wanting in continuity and integral effect. Since his day, our periodicals have largely multiplied, and, in the general, greatly improved, and the weekly and daily press now habitually displays a lavish expenditure of intellect and

knowledge which, heretofore, would have built up many a lofty reputation. But I do not think that, at any time, he could have achieved high distinction in such a field; and we may rejoice that it failed to absorb his energies, and lure them from work to which they were more properly applied.

Two events early tended to draw him towards that work and keep him to it,—his acquaintance with Wordsworth, and the opportunity afforded to him, by the liberality of the Wedgwoods, of becoming well acquainted with the literature, especially the philosophical literature, of Germany.

He first knew Wordsworth in 1794, and they became neighbours in 1797. They formed fit estimates of each other's powers, and soon resolved to unite in a literary venture. They projected the "Lyrical Ballads,"—a work which was destined to mark a momentous epoch in the history of English Poetry.

When the first volume of that book appeared, in 1798, there was need of the change of which it was the presage. The Poetry which had sprung into being, finding almost at once its birth and its perfection, in the age of Spenser and Shakespeare, had passed through many phases and assumed many forms. It maintained itself with austere dignity during the civil war, and until the overthrow of the Commonwealth, producing minor verses, full of melodious sweetness, and solemn tenderness, and philosophic musing, and making England illustrious as the creator of one of the great epics of the world. But, when the Restoration came, it lost, together, its national character and its power and purity. It subserved the base uses of a licentious Court, and spread a moral pestilence throughout the country. Even the masculine genius of Dryden, destined to exercise much influence for good, and incapable of utter obscuration

and debasement, was made its evil minister. He describes his age in the "Secular Masque" as—

> A very merry, dancing, drinking,
> Laughing, quaffing, and unthinking time.

And its verse-makers and playwrights, permeated by its spirit, mocked at the true passion and high purpose of the elder days of England. French models were the favourite subjects of imitation, and the form and tendency of intellectual effort were long too largely shaped by them. Even when that effort ceased to be corrupt and morally corrupting; when Addison reached the perfection of grace and ease in prose, and Pope's faultless couplets enshrined the keenest satire, the soundest observation, and the astutest thought; the character of English Poetry was not emancipated from the influences of the seventeenth century. There were wisdom and wit in it abundantly, and, sometimes, great descriptive power; there were artistic endeavour and artistic progress; and there was not wanting appreciation of natural beauty and the working of the human heart, in the environments of an advanced society. All these things there were in the age which produced Thomson, and Young, and Gray, and Collins, and our own Goldsmith, so admirable in many things. But the verse which had these qualities of excellence lacked the large sympathies, the deep emotion, the fresh and loving enthusiasm for the good and the beautiful, the gorgeous imagination, the subtle fancy, and the rich and various melody, which had belonged to the poets of the past. It has been described as not so much poetic thought as thought "translated into the language of poetry," or as "a translation of prose thoughts into poetic language"; and, though much exception must be made in behalf especially of Gray, and Collins, and Goldsmith, the descrip-

tion does not appear to misrepresent the general character of the rhythmical compositions of the age.

Cowper was near his end before the opening of the career of Coleridge, who associates him and Bowles in the eulogy, that, of living poets, they were the first "who combined natural thoughts with natural diction—the first who reconciled the heart with the head." In Cowper, and in the greater Scotchman,

> Who walk'd in glory and in joy,
> Behind his plough upon the mountain side,

and approved himself, before his early death, fitted to become a master in every province of the poet's art, that art, in the eighteenth century, fortunately culminated.

The comparative dulness of the time, when Whitehead was Laureate and Hayley had fame, was broken cheerily by the publication of Percy's "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry." The collection appeared in 1765, and their venerable editor, himself of no mean lyrical capacity, saw a great intellectual revolution wrought before his death, at Dromore, in 1811. The "Reliques" gave an impulse and aid of the most material kind to those who heralded a new poetic era. "I do not think," said Wordsworth, "that there is an able writer in verse in the present day who would not be proud to acknowledge his obligations to the 'Reliques'; —I know that it is so with my friends: for myself, I am happy to make a public avowal of my own." They were a fit prelude to the "Lyrical Ballads"; and they stimulated the early activity of Sir Walter Scott. For, in truth, the "old rude songs," which had been well-nigh forgotten, stirred men's hearts through all the crust of a polished conventionalism, and made them thrill again to the touch of Nature, applied in its simplicity and strength.

This was one instrument of change: and there were

others: but they might all have been impotent to work it, without the aid of the awakening power of that great movement, which, at the close of the century, ran through Europe with electric force, disturbing all that was stagnant, and quickening all that was slow, and evoking to unknown excitement, for evil or for good, the hidden emotions and the slumbering faculties of mankind. That movement was often black with crime, and fruitful in suffering and sorrow. It defied Heaven, and spread war and desolation through the earth; but, under God's overruling Providence, it had its "sweet uses," and its happy issues, too.

In the preparation of the "Lyrical Ballads," Coleridge undertook the special romance of the work, and the blending of supernatural machinery with human interest; whilst Wordsworth dealt with the common objects of physical nature and the ordinary courses of man's life and feeling, developing their deeper meanings, their unappreciated beauty, and their hidden relations with truth and goodness.

Coleridge produced the "Ancient Mariner," and a few other poems, and all the rest of the published pieces belonged to Wordsworth, whose genius never despised the wholesome sustainment of systematic industry, and bore far ampler fruit than that of his co-mate, though the latter may have been more rich in natural gifts, as it was certainly more various, and endowed with a riper scholarship and a wider intellectual vision.

Then came that assault upon the "Lyrical Ballads," which was kept up against their authors, with savage ferocity, for more than twenty years, and will ever be one of the worst reproaches to the critical literature of Britain. The *Edinburgh Review*, in its palmiest state, and maintaining a mastery of opinion in the world of letters, set itself to run down Wordsworth, and Coleridge, and Southey,

whom it was pleased to class together as forming a single and peculiar school; although not one of those writers was identified with, or like to, any other, in the conception, the purpose or the mode of execution of his literary enterprises. It is impossible now to read the scandalous diatribes in which they were traduced, and note the utterly unscrupulous partisanship which assailed them, without some disgust, and much astonishment, that persons of undoubted ability could so have prostituted their powers, in an effort to cloud the fame, and obstruct the usefulness, of the great men whom, for a generation, they made the subjects of sneering ridicule to the misled multitude.

The "Ancient Mariner" of Coleridge was described as "a mixture of raving and drivelling"; his "Christabel" was merely laughed at. And neither the wonderful rhythmical effects, nor the more wonderful power of affluent illustration, nor the deep and suggestive thoughtfulness, of his other poems, could extort, for many a day, a word of commendation from the critical dictators. Southey was equally attacked: and the comparatively few verses in which Wordsworth carried to vicious excess a theory, in many respects, just and defensible, were seized upon, and too long successfully, to make the world forgetful of his transcendent merits. The observation of Coleridge, that the omission of less than a hundred lines from Wordsworth's contributions to the "Lyrical Ballads" would have precluded nine-tenths of the criticism upon them, is unquestionably true. Yet, criticism of the same kind, and having the same small foundation, was sustained, persistingly, for a score of years. The calumniated writers were robbed of the substantial rewards of their high mental efforts, and scouted insolently when they should have been clothed with honour.

But time went on: a wiser intelligence was diffused; and

truth and beauty could not be hidden for ever. The revolution in poetic taste which began with the century made its way, slowly but surely. Southey's position became clear and assured; Coleridge, at last, had respect and influence; and Wordsworth survived to see himself the object of universal reverence, and note the proof of his acknowledged influence on the literature of his country, which has adopted, and will long cherish, amongst its treasures, to be continually applied in apt quotation for current use, a greater number of his lines than of most other poets since the time of Shakespeare. Coleridge was in his five-and-twentieth year when he produced the "Ancient Mariner," and others of his finest compositions. It was his *annus mirabilis*. He had written much and well before, and he wrote nobly afterwards; but the work of that year he never excelled. I have no time to go through his poems in detail; but I am sure many of you are acquainted with them all; and to a few selections from some of them I shall, by-and-by, ask your attention. Those which succeeded the efforts of his youth are graver and more full of thought and often of thoughtful melancholy; and though their excellence makes us lament the smallness of their number, they represent, remarkably, the conditions of his mind, at various periods; and, in the absence of any record of stirring events or practical activity,—for his life was exhausted in abstract inquiry and intellectual acquisition,—they are sufficient to compel our homage to the rare genius which produced them.

But, Coleridge was not merely a poet, nor was the cultivation of poetry the main business of his life. His verse is, indeed, instinct with a true philosophy, looking kindly and wisely into nature and life and the heart of man. But he had a double intellectual being; and his speculative faculty, whilst it aided, and was interfused with, his imagination,

far transcended it, in his own esteem, and commanded more of his culture and attention.

As I have said, one of the great determining occasions of his life was the visit he was early enabled to make to Germany, and his acquaintance with its metaphysical systems, which followed thereupon. He had been an enthusiastic advocate of the Hartleian theory; but he abandoned it, and, after becoming familiar with Locke, Leibnitz, and Des Cartes, he became as familiar with Kant, Fichte, and Schelling. He had few relations with the work-day world around him. Circumstances sadly detached him, even from the domestic obligations which happily control the freedom of the man who governs his family; and so, from month to month, and year to year, he dwelt in his own peculiar atmosphere of thought and fancy, brooding over the cardinal questions of metaphysics and morals, and believing that he had found for them a wise solution; — "spinning," as De Quincy said, "from his magical brain theories more gorgeous by far, and supported by a pomp and luxury of images, such as no German that ever breathed could have emulated in his dreams;" — and promising continually the completion of an *Opus Magnum* which should make a new reconcilement of Reason and Revelation, and "justify the ways of God to man."

And he sought help in these high pursuits from every department of human knowledge; from Natural Science and Universal Literature, from the Fathers of the Christian Church, and the later Platonists, and the Schoolmen of the Middle Age, and the mystic Theosophists, and the workers in the wide field of modern speculation. To himself his own lines may well apply, more, perhaps, than to any other of his time :—

> For not a hidden path that to the shades
> Of the beloved Parnassian forest leads,

Lurk'd undiscover'd by him; not a rill
There issues from the fount of Hippocrene,
But he had traced it upward to its source,
Through open glade, dark glen, and secret dell;
Knew the gay wild flowers on its banks, and cull'd
Its med'cinable herbs! Yea, oft alone
Piercing the long-neglected holy cave,
The haunt obscure of old Philosophy,
He bade, with lifted torch, the starry walls
Sparkle, as erst they sparkled, to the flame
Of odorous lamps tended by saint or sage!

His knowledge was encyclopædic, and his power of speech had in it, according to contemporary report, something superhuman. He poured out, day by day, the wealth of his imagination and his memory to wondering listeners, who bore it away and often made it fruitful, to themselves in fame, and to the world in profit.

William Hazlitt hated him, as a politician, and was one of his most virulent assailants in the *Edinburgh Review;* but, notwithstanding, this was the testimony of that keen-sighted and brilliant, though unhappy man:—"He is the only person I ever knew who answered to the idea of a man of genius. He is the only person from whom I ever learned anything. . . . . He talked on for ever, and you wished him to talk on for ever. His thoughts did not seem to come with labour and effort, but as if borne on the gusts of genius, and as if the wings of his imagination lifted him from his feet. His voice rolled on the ear like the pealing organ, and its sound alone was the music of thought. His mind was clothed with wings, and, lifted on them, he raised Philosophy to Heaven." And such was the testimony of all the men of note who came, from time to time, to submit to the witchery of his unmatched eloquence. Professor Wilson wrote:—"If there be any man of great and original genius alive at this moment in Europe, it is Coleridge."

"I think," said Dr. Arnold, "with all his faults, old Sam was more of a great man than any one who has lived within the four seas in this generation." And Wordsworth, who was not given to praise, declared that "he had seen many men do wonderful things, but Coleridge was the only wonderful *man* he had ever met."

And so he sat in his room at Highgate,

> The rapt one, of the godlike forehead,

exercising, in some sort, the intellectual domination which had belonged to Dr. Johnson, or rather, perhaps, to be likened to the sages of the Porch and the Grove, in the great days of Athens, whose disciples hung upon their lips, and garnered up the wisdom which enriched their utterance. He was lavish of his gifts, and indifferent to the profit and the fame he might have won from them. Sometimes, regret for his self-forgetfulness seems to have crossed his mind. He says, sadly, in his "Literary Life":—"I have laid too many eggs in the hot sands of this wilderness, the world, with ostrich carelessness and ostrich oblivion. The greater part, indeed, have been trodden under foot and are forgotten. But yet, no small number have crept forth into life, some to furnish feathers for the caps of others, and still more to plume the shafts in the quiver of my enemies, of them that, unprovoked, have lain in wait against my soul—

> Sic vos, non vobis, mellificatis, apes!"

But, withal, he exercised a greater individual influence than any man of his time; and that influence has penetrated, widely and deeply, the literature of the English tongue, in the Old World and the New.

As I have said, his printed prose works are fragmentary

and imperfect, and poorly represent the great intelligence which produced them. The chief of them may be briefly named: "The Friend," the "Lay Sermons," the "Biographia Literaria," the "Aids to Reflection," and the essay "On the Constitution in Church and State"; to which I may add two posthumous publications, the "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit," and the "Literary Remains." These compositions are, in many ways, of rare excellence; but, taken altogether, they leave upon the mind a painful sense of their insufficiency to fulfil the hope which their author cherished, and the world was warranted to share, of some complete achievement worthy of his reputation. With him, unhappily, to project gave no sure promise of fulfilment; as was curiously indicated by his statement to De Quincy, that his title-pages alone (titles of works devised, but not executed,) would fill a large volume.

The System of Philosophy, to which he had dedicated his best years, and to which he repeatedly referred as the crowning labour of his life, he never completed; but, after his death, a devoted follower undertook to give it to the world. Mr. Green was a surgeon of high professional rank in London; a Professor in King's College; and a man who had gained great distinction by his Hunterian Lectures and his speculations on subjects connected with mental science. He was conversant with the modern philosophy of Germany, and this, perhaps, led him to seek the society of Coleridge, to whom he became attached, as a pupil to his master. Every week, for many a year, in spite of his absorbing occupations, he spent long hours at Highgate, learning the views of Coleridge from himself; and when their great expounder was no more, he determined, in the words of his biographer, Mr. Simons, to devote "the whole remaining strength and earnestness of his life to the one task of

systematising, developing, and establishing the doctrines of the Coleridgian Philosophy." He soon retired from practice, and, for eight-and-twenty years which remained to him, he chiefly devoted his time and his faculties to the task he had taken on himself. Coleridge had made no full or intelligible demonstration of his system. He left only fragmentary suggestions and notes on margins and in scrap-books; and these, with the memory of the conversations at Highgate, supplied to Mr. Green the materials for his work. In connexion with it, we are told that he strove to familiarise himself with every branch of human knowledge, physical and psychological; that he made a new study of the Greek language; began, when he was sixty years old, to read Hebrew; and, when he was older still, tried to make some acquaintance with Sanscrit. He believed, with Coleridge, that a full philosophic system should include "the laws and explanation of all being, conscious and unconscious"; and, with such a conception of it, his labour of construction was, apparently, immense. He died, in 1863, in his seventy-second year, having conscientiously prosecuted that labour to the end; and, only in 1865, was the result of his faithful and affectionate endeavours given to the public, under the title, "Spiritual Philosophy, founded on the Teaching of the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge." The work was edited by his able friend, Mr. Simons, whose preliminary memoir has enabled me to make this statement, as to the origin and progress of the book.

I have made it, not because this is the time or the place to analyse or to judge that remarkable publication; but because I think it must be of interest to an intellectual audience to learn that, in this busy century, with all its utilitarian proclivities, and all its proneness to absorb itself in the moiling and toiling of mere material progress, such

an exemplar should have been given of reverence and docility and renunciation of selfish ends, by a scholar of high capacity and great acquirements, who, from mere love of what he deemed a sound philosophy, and of its best expositor, spent himself in earnest and humble setting forth of the thought of another man. I institute no foolish parallelism between the cases, but the conduct of this London surgeon reminds us somewhat of the relation which subsisted between the philosopher whose sublime previsions seemed to anticipate the great doctrines of Revelation, and his master, Socrates. For eight years, before an unjust judgment took from Athens her sagest citizen, he had filled with his wisdom a disciple worthy of him,—from whose mind, we are told, his image never passed,—who occupied a luminous career, in perpetuating his influence and illustrating his principles. The dialogues of Plato have made the name of Socrates, who bequeathed no written memorial of himself, famous and venerable for all mankind: and it is pleasant to see, in our own day, something of the old Greek devotedness show itself again. To me, at least, there is inspiring nobleness in the spectacle of such strength of purpose and such pure and persistent self-abnegation, as have been rare in any age, and not least in our own.

I have digressed slightly, but, I trust, not unprofitably. And I scarcely regret, that the digression leaves me no time to talk of some circumstances in the life of Coleridge which ask from us "the charity of silence." Of his slavery, for a time, to the dominion of opium, which poisoned the very springs of his life, and deranged his relations with those who were nearest and dearest to him, and drew from him agonising cries of self-condemnation, it were not profitable here to speak. Nor is it needful, that I should further dwell upon his want of the prudence, the concentration and the care by which ordinary men utilise, to

the uttermost, their meaner faculties. Often, he pined in his solitary musings, when

> Fruitless late Remorse would trace,
> Like Hebrew lore, a backward pace,
> Its irrecoverable race !

And in his own rich verse he lamented—

> Sense of past youth and manhood come in vain,
> And genius given, and knowledge won in vain ;
> And all which he had cull'd in wood-walks wild,
> And all which patient toil had rear'd * * * but flowers,
> Strew'd on his corpse and borne upon his bier,
> In the same coffin, to the self-same grave !

Yet, when he was assailed by critics and in literary circles, as an incorrigible idler, who had wasted his talents and opportunities, he defended himself with natural vehemence, insisting that he had done great work for his generation :— "By what I *have* effected," he said proudly, "am I to be judged by my fellow-men: what I *could* have done, is a question for my own conscience." And then again would come his hours of despondency, as when, in later years, he wrote thus, in a strain of exquisite sadness :—

> All nature seems at work : slugs leave their lair,
> The bees are stirring, birds are on the wing,
> And winter, slumbering in the open air,
> Wears on his smiling face a dream of Spring !
> And I, the while, the sole unbusy thing,
> Nor honey make, nor pair, nor build, nor sing.
> Yet, well I ken the banks where amaranths blow,
> Have traced the fount whence streams of nectar flow ; —
> Bloom, O ye amaranths ! bloom for whom ye may,
> For me ye bloom not ! Glide, rich streams, away !
> With lips unmoisten'd, wreathless brow, I stroll,
> And would you learn the spells that drowse my soul ?
> Work without hope draws nectar in a sieve,
> And hope without an object cannot live.

Of his uneventful life, I have no more to say. He passed it in oscillation between the cloudland of his gorgeous fancy and the high, rare atmosphere of speculative thought; and he was not without the comfort of that deep affection, approved by years of tenderness and care, from those who were bound to him by no ties of flesh and blood, for which his yearning found utterance when he said—

> To be beloved is all I need,
> And whom I love, I love indeed!

He suffered from the want of a definite pursuit or profession to steady his course, and keep his mind from unprofitable wandering. He knew, by sad experience, the truth of Scott's wise saying—"Literature is a good staff, but an evil crutch"; and he has done his best, by eloquent and earnest warning, to prevent young men from pursuing authorship, as the business of their lives. I observe that Mr. Carlyle, in his recent Inaugural Address at Edinburgh, repeats the counsel with energy and unction. But I need not dwell upon the causes, in connexion with that to which I have last adverted, which produced the mental shortcomings and the bodily afflictions of Coleridge.

At last he sank, at the age of sixty-two, broken with pain and many infirmities, but in the unclouded clearness of his majestic intellect, and with the full control of his abounding acquisitions. And, at the end of all, he wrote to his godson, from his dying bed, these words:—"I, too, your godfather, have known what the advantages and enjoyments of this life are, and what the more refined pleasures which learning and intellectual power can bestow; and, with all the experience which three-score years can give, I now, on the eve of my departure, declare to you (and earnestly pray that you may hereafter live and act on the conviction), that health is a great blessing; competence, obtained by honourable

industry, is a great blessing; and a great blessing it is to have kind, faithful, and loving friends and relatives; but that the greatest of blessings, as it is the most ennobling of all privileges, is to be, indeed, a Christian!"

And with this final utterance the greatest thinker of his time went to his account, leaving a memory "which the world will not willingly allow to perish!"

I borrow, as a conclusion to my unworthy outline of an illustrious life, a few of the words which a true poet of our own, Aubrey de Vere, has dedicated to Coleridge:—

> No loftier, purer soul than his hath ever
> With awe revolved the planetary page
> (From infancy to age)
> Of knowledge, sedulous and proud to give her
> The whole of his great heart for her own sake,
> For what she is, not what she does, or
> What can make.

It remains that I should briefly speak of the character of Coleridge, as a philosopher and a poet.

I shall not expound to you his doctrine of Ideas, or the distinction which it was the labour of all his maturer years to establish between the Reason and the Understanding, as the main foundation of his system, and the key to the truths of Intellectual Philosophy, in its connexion with Theology and the grounds of certainty as to spiritual things. Such an exposition of such theories and their consequences, involving the discussion of many a vexed and tangled question, would be impossible in a lecture like this; even if it were not, as it seems to me, beside and beyond the purposes for which we are assembled. I therefore avoid it: but I shall say a word of the influence on the general character and current of opinion, in his time, which Coleridge so remarkably exerted.

Some of my own views, as to the gravest subjects which

can occupy the intellect of man, are wholly opposed to those which he energetically advocated, and I deem him often a dangerous guide and counsellor; but that does not prevent me from recognising in him a sincere lover of the truth, who pursued it, if not always with success, always, at least, in simplicity and single-heartedness.

And, being so distinguished by mental integrity and purity of purpose, he seems to me, without reference to the minute details of his peculiar teaching, to have been specially a benefactor to his country, in this, that he sought to lift the speculation of his contemporaries from the dull level on which it had been running, and to inform it with a higher spiritual life. He was no friend to some of the doctrines of mental science, which, taking their origin in England, had a fatal development in the godless materialism of France, and, with various modifications, prevailed, more or less, in the schools of Scotland. He became their adversary, when he escaped the fascination of the Hartleian scheme; and the new types of thought, and even of technical expression, which he introduced, were very useful in making men exert their understandings, freely and freshly, and question the necessity of submission to the dominion of the prevailing theories of "sense and selfishness." In all his writings and in all his oral intercourse, he asserted views of man's nature and relations to the universe antagonistic to those theories, and his logic and his eloquence encountered them, unceasingly. The thoughtful students of the great English universities, for many a day, looked reverentially to his judgment; and its guidance led very many of them to cherish a high conception of the moral constitution, the freedom and responsibility, and the immortal destiny, of the human race. For the diffusion of such conceptions, at such a time, they and the world were deeply his debtors.

Further, his intellectual action always aimed to propagate generous impulses and suggest lofty aims, the disinterested love of truth and virtue, and a large-hearted spirit of love and charity towards all mankind. And, whatever were his own faults and failings, those who followed his counsels were sure to learn the worth and the happiness of conscientious labour, the necessity of method, in the regulation of the intellect and the discharge of social duty, and the sacred obligation, incumbent on every one of us, of acting throughout the details of life, private or public, trivial or momentous—

> As ever in his great Task-master's eye.

In another way, the influence of Coleridge on opinion was of much importance. Before the language of Germany had become familiar, as it now is, to multitudes in these islands, and whilst many of the most learned of their people were still ignorant of the new intellectual development of that country, Coleridge applied himself to the study of the German philosophy, mastered its principles, and measured an intellect, of no unequal power, with those of its chief creators. If he had become its subservient expositor in the English tongue, he would have sapped the foundations of the most cherished beliefs and traditions of his countrymen; or, if he had succeeded such an expositor, he might have found it very difficult to countervail the mischief of a first impression on the national sentiment. But, whilst he made much of the teaching of Kant and Schelling and their compeers familiar in the language of England, he put upon it the impress of his own spirit, and subdued it to the uses of his own deep convictions. He laboured to demonstrate that its doctrines, so far as they were worthy of acceptance, were entirely reconcilable with the dogmas of Christianity—with God's personality

and man's redemption; and he anticipated and prevented, to a large extent, the danger of an identification of the new phase of mental science with unbelief, and the substitution of a pantheistic mysticism for the faith of Revelation.

These were some of the modes in which Coleridge wielded a power, unrecognised and unproclaimed, but not the less real and widely operative, on intellects which were to head the march of thought, and mould opinion by their persuasion and example. In one of his early books, a writer, who has since gained high reputation from a history —distinguished by original research and perverse theory, by a racy and vigorous style and many a delusive representation of events and persons—makes a striking statement as to his own condition of mind, when he looked out into the world from the cloisters of Oxford, and debated with himself, whether he should follow the path traced for him by John Henry Newman, or that to which he was attracted by Thomas Carlyle? These, it has often seemed to me, with that of Coleridge, are the names representing the exercise of the widest influence, in the most diverse ways, which has acted on individual minds, amongst us, within this century. And it is curious to observe, as may be noted by any one who makes a study of the matter, how far the subtle and many-sided intellect of the eldest of the three, in one way, promoted the movement which was led by Dr. Newman with such surpassing power, and, in another, lent to Carlyle much of the energising force and awakening earnestness which give effect to his peculiar modes of thought. But this is a subject which I cannot pursue, and I refer to it, only because I think it supplies an illustration of the sort of connexion which Coleridge has had, with very various phases of the mind of his country.

I must hasten on to make brief reference to the poetry of

Coleridge. But before I do so, permit me to offer to you two short specimens of his prose, with which, perhaps, you may be less familiar. They are, in my judgment, two of the noblest passages which enrich the English tongue.

The first I take from his essay "On Method, in the Will and the Understanding," one of the most precious of the fragments he has left behind :—

"Our discussion, however, is confined to method as employed in the formation of the understanding, and in the constructions of science and literature. It would, indeed, be superfluous to attempt a proof of its importance in the business and economy of active or domestic life. From the cottier's hearth or the workshop of the artisan to the palace or the arsenal, the first merit, that which admits neither substitute nor equivalent, is, that *every* thing is in its place. Where this charm is wanting, every other merit either loses its name, or becomes an additional ground of accusation and regret. Of one by whom it is eminently possessed, we say, proverbially, he is like clock-work. The resemblance extends beyond the point of regularity, and yet falls short of the truth. Both do, indeed, at once divide and announce the silent and otherwise indistinguishable lapse of time. But the man of methodical industry and honourable pursuits does more; he realises its ideal divisions, and gives a character and individuality to its moments. If the idle are described as killing time, he may be justly said to call it into life and moral being, while he makes it the distinct object not only of the consciousness but of the conscience. He organises the hours, and gives them a soul; and that, the very essence of which is to fleet away, and ever more to have been, he takes up into his own permanence, and communicates to it the imperishableness of a spiritual nature. Of the good and faithful servant whose energies, thus directed, are thus methodised, it is less truly affirmed

that he lives in time, than that time lives in him. His days, months, and years, as the stops and punctual marks in the record of duties performed, will survive the wreck of worlds, and remain extant when time itself shall be no more."

That is the first passage; and the second will be found in his essay "On the Principles of Political Knowledge." It has reference to the nature and the force of law, and it is introduced in connexion with a eulogy of Sir Alexander Ball, for whom Coleridge had great reverence, on the occasion of his subjection of a mutinous crew by the controlling power of discipline. He says:—

"An invisible power it was that quelled them, a power which was therefore irresistible, because it took away the very will of resisting! It was the awful power of law acting on natures pre-configured to its influences. A faculty was appealed to in the offender's own being; a faculty and a presence, of which he had not been previously made aware—but it answered to the appeal. Its real existence, therefore, could not be doubted, or its reply rendered inaudible; and the very struggle of the wilder passions to keep uppermost counteracted their own purpose, by wasting in internal contest that energy which before had acted in its entireness on external resistance or provocation. Strength may be met with strength; the power of inflicting pain may be baffled by the pride of endurance; the eye of rage may be answered by the stare of defiance, or the downcast look of dark and revengeful resolve; and with all this there is an outward and determined object to which the mind can attach its passions and purposes, and bury its own disquietudes in the full occupation of the senses. But who dare struggle with an invisible combatant—with an enemy which exists and makes us know its existence—but where it is, we ask in vain? No space

contains it; time promises no control over it; it has no ear for my threats; it has no substance that my hands can grasp, or my weapons find vulnerable; it commands and cannot be commanded; it acts and is insusceptible of reaction; the more I strive to subdue it, the more am I compelled to think of it, and the more I think of it, the more do I find it to possess a reality out of myself, and not to be a phantom of my own imagination; that all, but the most abandoned men, acknowledge its authority, and that the whole strength and majesty of my country are pledged to support it; and yet that for me its power is the same with that of my own permanent self, and that all the choice, which is permitted to me consists in having it for my guardian angel or my avenging fiend! . . . . . This is the true necessity, which compels man into the social state, now and always, by a still-beginning, never-ceasing force of moral cohesion."

That is the second passage; and I repeat, as to both, that the language contains few which surpass them in solidity of thought and felicity of expression. The first clothes with the freshness and impressiveness of an original conception, one of the old truths, which have striven in every household for practical recognition, since human society was formed. What would not Coleridge have accomplished, if his life had illustrated that noble teaching! Of the second, I shall only say, that it is worthy to hold a place, in English literature, side by side with Hooker's famous proclamation of the origin and dignity of law, at the close of the first book of the "Ecclesiastical Polity."

And now, I come to speak of the poetry of Coleridge. Much I shall not say of it, for I have already transcended the proper limits of a lecture, and I must employ some of the moments which remain to me, in recalling

to your recollection a few illustrations of the various forms of beauty which pervade it. In comparison with others of his time, he wrote very little; and the reason is painfully expressed in his note to the unfinished fragment of "The Three Graves": "*Carmen reliquum in futurum tempus relegatum.*" "To-morrow! and To-morrow! and To-morrow!" The want of that husbanding of time of which he so well knew the value, of that fruitful method of which he proclaimed the triumphs, made his genius, in verse as in prose, too barren of result; but he did enough to demonstrate its rare quality, and affirm his claim to a high place amongst the singers of the world.

I cannot pause to criticise his drama—"Remorse"—which was successful, and deserved success; or his masterly version of the "Wallenstein" of Schiller, which has taken the very highest rank amongst translations, but was long neglected and profitless to its author; and, as he complains, with some natural bitterness, useful only in supplying "waste paper to the trunk-maker."

Of his verse, in general, it may be truly said, that it exhibited a sweetness, a freedom, and a power of melody, which had been scarcely known to the later poetry of England. His ear was exquisite; he had studied profoundly the laws of rhythm; and when he produced the "Ancient Mariner," and the first part of "Christabel," their music came upon the senses of men like a revelation of the spheres.

The life and passion which were to distinguish the new poetry of the time needed a new expression, and it was supplied primarily by Coleridge, of whom it has been, I think, truly said, that, whatever may be doubted as to his poetic rank amongst the writers of his age, in other respects, "in versification, at least, he was supreme." And

he became so, partly from his own fine faculties of "soul and sense," and partly, perhaps, from his loving familiarity with the exquisite modulation of the verse of the Elizabethan poets, and the bold and various measures of the young literature of the German people. Be this as it may, the five-and-twentieth year of Coleridge produced compositions of rhythmical excellence, which appear to me perfectly unsurpassed in our language; and to justify this opinion of mine, and, at the same time to indicate something of "the vision and the faculty divine" which possessed him as a poet of the imagination—for the purposes may be well combined—I shall, even at the risk of wearying you with the *crambe repetita* of things long familiar, read to you a few lines from the "Ancient Mariner," and two or three of his other poems.

I need not tell you the story of the man "who shot the albatross," the bird of good omen, with terrible results to himself and his mess-mates; and how, after a shuddering confession of his sin, he goes on to describe its consequences, in the becalming of the vessel, and the rotting of the deep, and the coming of the Spectre Ship and the Nightmare, Life in Death, and the perishing of the doomed sailors:—

> With heavy thump, a lifeless lump,
> They dropt down one by one.

But thus the mariner describes his horrid solitude, and the dissolution of the spell:—

> Alone, alone, all, all, alone,
> Alone on a wide wide sea!
> And never a saint took pity on
> My soul in agony.

The many men so beautiful!
And they all dead did lie:
And a thousand, thousand slimy things
Lived on; and so did I.

* * * * *

The moving moon went up the sky,
And nowhere did abide;
Softly she was going up,
And a star or two beside

Her beams bemock'd the sultry main,
Like April hoar-frost spread;
But where the ship's huge shadow lay,
The charmed water burnt alway,
A still and awful red.

Beyond the shadow of the ship,
I watch'd the water-snakes;
They moved in tracks of shining white,
And when they rear'd, the elfish light
Fell off in hoary flakes.

* * * * *

O happy living things! no tongue
Their beauty might declare;
A spring of love gush'd from my heart,
And I bless'd them unaware;
Sure my kind saint took pity on me,
And I bless'd them unaware.

The self-same moment I could pray;
And from my neck so free
The albatross fell off, and sank
Like lead into the sea.

And then he tells how the rain came, and how the ship moved on, without a breath of wind, and how his dead comrades rose up, and how their bodies were inhabited by "a troop of spirits bless'd":—

For when it dawn'd—they dropp'd their arms,
And cluster'd round the mast;
Sweet sounds rose slowly through their mouths,
And from their bodies pass'd.

Around, around, flew each sweet sound,
  Then darted to the sun ;
Slowly the sounds came back again,
  Now mix'd, now one by one.

Sometimes a-dropping from the sky
  I heard the sky-lark sing ;
Sometimes all little birds that are,
How they seem'd to fill the sea and air
  With their sweet jargoning !

And now 'twas like all instruments,
  Now like a lonely flute ;
And now it is an angel's song,
  That makes the heavens be mute.

It ceased ; yet still the sails made on
  A pleasant noise till noon,
A noise like of a hidden brook
  In the leafy month of June,
That to the sleeping woods all night
  Singeth a quiet tune.

And, as he concludes his tale, he thus instructs the wedding guest to whom it has been tcld:—

Farewell, farewell ! but this I tell
  To thee, thou Wedding Guest :
He prayeth well, who loveth well
  Both man and bird and beast.

He prayeth best, who loveth best
  All things both great and small ;
For the dear God who loveth us,
  He made and loveth all.

I have read so much of a poem which, to me, for many a year, was an ever new delight, because, in its integrity, as I have said, it comes equally in aid of my conception of Coleridge's mastery of rhythm, and in proof of the creative energy of his weird imagination.

"The Ancient Mariner" was one of his early poems ;

take one, less known, of his later life—take "Youth and Age":—

Verse, a breeze 'mid blossoms straying,
Where Hope clung feeding, like a bee—
Both were mine! Life went a-maying
With Nature, Hope, and Poesy,
When I was young!
When I was young? Ah, woful when!
Ah! for the change 'twixt Now and Then!
This breathing house not built with hands,
This body that does me grievous wrong,
O'er aery cliffs and glittering sands,
How lightly then it flash'd along;
Like those trim skiffs, unknown of yore,
On winding lakes and rivers wide,
That ask no aid of sail or oar,
That fear no spite of wind or tide!
Nought cared this body for wind or weather
When Youth and I lived in't together.

Flowers are lovely; Love is flower-like;
Friendship is a sheltering tree;
Oh! the joys, that came down shower-like,
Of Friendship, Love, and Liberty,
Ere I was old.
Ere I was old? Ah woful ere,
Which tells me, Youth's no longer here!
O Youth! for years so many and sweet,
'Tis known, that thou and I were one;
I'll think it but a fond conceit—
It cannot be that thou art gone!
Thy vesper bell hath not yet toll'd;
And thou wert aye a masker bold!
What strange disguise hast now put on,
To make believe, that thou art gone?
I see these locks in silvery slips,
This drooping gait, this alter'd size:
But springtide blossoms on thy lips,
And tears take sunshine from thine eyes!
Life is but thought; so think I will
That Youth and I are house-mates still.

Dew-drops are the gems of morning,
But the tears of mournful eve!
Where no hope is, life's a warning
That only serves to make us grieve,
When we are old:
That only serves to make us grieve
With oft and tedious taking-leave,
Like some poor night-belated guest,
That may not rudely be dismist.
Yet hath out-stay'd his welcome while,
And tells the jest without the smile.

And now I shall ask your attention to his "Vision in a Dream," of which he says, that, having fallen asleep in his chair, after the perusal of some words about Kubla Khan, in Purchas's "Pilgrimage," he was conscious of composing two or three hundred lines; and that, on awaking, he distinctly recollected the whole, and instantly and eagerly wrote down what I shall read to you. He was then called away by business, and, on his return, after the lapse of an hour, he had forgotten all the rest of the composition of his slumber:—

In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
A stately pleasure-dome decree:
Where Alph, the sacred river ran
Through caverns measureless to man
Down to a sunless sea.
So twice five miles of fertile ground
With walls and towers were girdled round:
And there were gardens bright with sinuous rills
Where blossom'd many an incense-bearing tree;
And there were forests ancient as the hills,
Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.

But oh! that deep romantic chasm which slanted
Down the green hill athwart a cedarn cover!
A savage place! as holy and enchanted
As e'er beneath a waning moon was haunted
By woman wailing for her demon-lover!

And from this chasm, with ceaseless turmoil seething,
As if the earth in fast thick pants were breathing,
A mighty fountain momently was forced;
Amid whose swift half intermitted burst
Huge fragments vaulted like rebounding hail,
Or chaffy grain beneath the thresher's flail;
And 'mid these dancing rocks at once and ever
It flung up momently the sacred river.
Five miles meandering with a mazy motion
Through wood and dale the sacred river ran,
Then reach'd the caverns measureless to man,
And sank in tumult to a lifeless ocean:
And 'mid this tumult Kubla heard from far
Ancestral voices prophesying war!
The shadow of the dome of pleasure
Floated midway on the waves;
Where was heard the mingled measure
From the fountain and the caves,
It was a miracle of rare device,
A sunny pleasure-dome with caves of ice!
A damsel with a dulcimer
In a vision once I saw;
It was an Abyssinian maid,
And on her dulcimer she play'd,
Singing of Mount Abora.
Could I revive within me
Her symphony and song,
To such a deep delight 'twould win me
That with music loud and long,
I would build that dome in air,
That sunny dome! those caves of ice!
And all who heard should see them there,
And all should cry, Beware! Beware!
His flashing eyes, his floating hair!
Weave a circle round him thrice,
And close your eyes with holy dread,
For he on honey-dew hath fed,
And drunk the milk of Paradise.

Undoubtedly, such lines, so composed, are, as they have been called, a "psychological curiosity": and the brain

must have been "magical" indeed, from which sprang spontaneously, in its passive state, a strain so beautifully wild, so strangely sweet as this.

If I had time, I should remind you of the passages of "Christabel," which charmingly demonstrate the same combination of rich fancy and melodious verse. But I must hurry on. I spoke of Coleridge as a poet of reflection, and I have myself, perhaps, higher admiration for him in that character than in any other. Sir James Mackintosh has somewhere said, that nothing is so easy as to put philosophy into verse, and nothing so difficult as to write philosophical poetry. Any one who will refer to Akenside and Darwin and compare their—in their own way—able and ingenious compositions, with poems such as those of Coleridge, will have no difficulty in understanding the distinction.

Thus he wrote, when he was four-and-twenty, "On leaving a place of Retirement":—

> Ah! quiet dell! dear cot, and mount sublime!
> I was constrain'd to quit you. Was it right,
> While my unnumber'd brethren toil'd and bled,
> That I should dream away the entrusted hours
> On rose-leaf beds, pampering the coward heart
> With feelings all too delicate for use?
> Sweet is the tear that from some Howard's eye
> Drops on the cheek of one he lifts from earth:
> And he that works me good with unmoved face,
> Does it but half: he chills me while he aids,
> My benefactor, not my brother man!
> Yet even this, this cold beneficence,
> Praise, praise it, O my soul! oft as thou scann'st
> The sluggard Pity's vision-weaving tribe!
> Who sigh for wretchedness, yet shun the wretched,
> Nursing in some delicious solitude
> Their slothful loves and dainty sympathies!

In the "Frost at Midnight," written two years later, there is this address to his little son:—

Dear babe, that sleepest cradled by my side,
Whose gentle breathings, heard in this deep calm,
Fill up the interspersed vacancies
And momentary pauses of the thought!
My babe so beautiful! it thrills my heart
With tender gladness, thus to look at thee,
And think that thou shalt learn far other lore
And in far other scenes! For I was rear'd
In the great city, pent 'mid cloisters dim,
And saw nought lovely but the sky and stars.
But thou, my babe! shalt wander like a breeze
By lakes and sandy shores, beneath the crags
Of ancient mountains, and beneath the clouds,
Which image in their bulk both lakes and shores
And mountain crags: so shalt thou see and hear
The lovely shapes and sounds intelligible
Of that eternal language, which thy God
Utters, who from eternity doth teach
Himself in all, and all things in himself.
Great universal Teacher! he shall mould
Thy spirit, and by giving make it ask.

Therefore all seasons shall be sweet to thee,
Whether the summer clothe the general earth
With greenness, or the redbreast sit and sing
Betwixt the tufts of snow on the bare branch
Of mossy apple-tree, while the nigh thatch
Smokes in the sun-thaw; whether the eve-drops fall
Heard only in the trances of the blast,
Or if the secret ministry of frost
Shall hang them up in silent icicles,
Quietly shining to the quiet Moon.

And how beautiful and wise is this reference, in "The Nightingale," to the same dear child:—

My dear babe,
Who, capable of no articulate sound,
Mars all things with his imitative lisp,

How he would place his hand beside his ear,
His little hand, the small forefinger up,
And bid us listen! And I deem it wise
To make him Nature's playmate. He knows well
The evening-star; and once, when he awoke
In most distressful mood (some inward pain
Had made up that strange thing, an infant's dream)
I hurried with him to our orchard-plot,
And he beheld the moon, and, hush'd at once,
Suspends his sobs, and laughs most silently,
While his fair eyes, that swam with undropp'd tears,
Did glitter in the yellow moon-beam! Well!—
It is a father's tale: But if that Heaven
Should give me life, his childhood shall grow up
Familiar with these songs, that with the night
He may associate joy.—Once more, farewell,
Sweet Nightingale! Once more, my friends! farewell.

I shall give you but one more extract from these "Meditative Poems." It seems to me delicious in its painting of Nature, and the spirit of calm and purity which breathes throughout it:—

This Sycamore, oft musical with bees,—
Such tents the Patriarchs loved! O long unharm'd
May all its aged boughs o'er-canopy
The small round basin, which this jutting stone
Keeps pure from falling leaves! Long may the Spring,
Quietly as a sleeping infant's breath,
Send up cold waters to the traveller
With soft and even pulse! Nor ever cease
Yon tiny cone of sand its soundless dance,
Which at the bottom, like a Fairy's page,
As merry and no taller, dances still,
Nor wrinkles the smooth surface of the Fount.
Here twilight is and coolness: here is moss,
A soft seat, and a deep and ample shade.
Thou mayst toil far and find no second tree.
Drink, Pilgrim, here; Here rest! and if thy heart
Be innocent, here too shalt thou refresh
Thy Spirit, listening to some gentle sound,
Or passing gale or hum of murmuring bees!

The philosophy with which Coleridge interfuses his sweet or solemn verse is not a thing of dogma or definition; a descriptive catalogue of physical phenomena; or an astute discussion of scholastic theories. It is the development of a deeply thoughtful mind and a heart filled with tender and noble feeling, holding close relations with external nature and sensitive to all influences of beauty and grandeur, which are derivable from the physical creation and the deeds and aspirings of mankind. Coleridge is eminently a subjective poet. He looks within; and seeks

> The harvest of a quiet eye,
> Which broods and sleeps on his own heart.

But his poetry is warm with the life of human emotion, and rich in the reflection of the forms and sounds which brighten and glorify the earth around us. It has the luxurious sensuousness of Keats and Tennyson; but with more of insight, and a truer echo of

> The still, sad music of humanity.

It has the wisdom of the verse of Wordsworth. It is sometimes as stately, but never as cold. It rolls with a more melodious fulness, and is instinct with more genial sympathies. It is, indeed, philosophical poetry, and not philosophy forced into rhythm, and we may well lament, that, being what it is, there should be so very little of it.

Fain would I delight you with portions of Coleridge's "Religious Musings," his "Dejection," his "Fears in Solitude," and of that ode to "France," which Shelley pronounced "the finest of modern times." But it is impossible; and I must despatch most briefly the last section of my subject.

To many, the poems of Coleridge which deal with Love are the most charming and characteristic of his writings. They carry us back from monotonous dulness and loathsome impurity, to the good days, when with all their superficial coarseness, the old dramatists of England, and eminently their mighty master — the dramatist of the world and all humanity—dealt with woman's nature in a spirit of high appreciation and reverential tenderness, and penetrated the mystery of her gentle life, strong in its "magnanimous weakness," and rich in the boundless sacrifices of its unselfish affection. He took his place with them and with their elder brothers of Italian song, who recognised, as one of the highest victories of the Christian civilisation, her uprising from her low estate, and helped to make it lasting and spread its holy influence, by exalting her worthiness and adopting, into immortal verse, the chivalric spirit which bowed rude force in proud humility before its own ideal of grace and loveliness.

"I do not think," said Professor Wilson, "there is any poet in the world who ever touched the mystery of the passion as he has done." And I challenge your approval of that judgment of a gifted critic, whilst I remind you of some verses of the exquisite composition, so familiar to you all, which is, undoubtedly, the chief adornment and the consummate flower of the love-poetry of Coleridge :—

All impulses of soul and sense
Had thrill'd my guileless Genevieve,—
The music and the doleful tale,
The rich and balmy eve ;

And hopes, and fears that kindle hope,
An undistinguishable throng,
And gentle wishes long subdued,
Subdued and cherish'd long !

She wept with pity and delight,
She blush'd with love and virgin shame;
And, like the murmur of a dream,
I heard her breathe my name.

Her bosom heaved—she stepp'd aside,
As conscious of my look she stept—
Then suddenly, with timorous eye,
She fled to me and wept.

She half enclosed me with her arms,
She press'd me with a meek embrace,
And bending back her head, looked up
And gazed upon my face.

'Twas partly love, and partly fear,
And partly 'twas a bashful art,
That I might rather feel, than see
The swelling of her heart.

I calm'd her fears, and she was calm,
And told her love with virgin pride;
And so I won my Genevieve,
My bright and beauteous Bride.

I could give you passages not unworthy to be classed with this, from other poems, but it is the choicest of them all; and I cannot venture to detain you further, by the repetition of any more of them. I shall only ask you, before I conclude, to listen to some lines which I should properly have cited when I spoke of meditative verse, but I have advisedly reserved them, because they have, to me, a peculiar charm, that they may sound latest in your ears, and cling longest to your memories :—

How seldom, Friend! a good, great man inherits
Honour or wealth, with all his worth and pains!
It sounds like stories from the land of spirits,
If any man obtain that which he merits,
Or any merit that which he obtains.

For shame, dear Friend! renounce this canting strain;—
What wouldst thou have a good, great man obtain?

Place—titles—salary—a gilded chain—
Or throne of corses which his sword hath slain ?
Greatness and goodness are not means, but ends !
Hath he not always treasures, always friends,
The good great man ? Three treasures, love and light,
And calm thoughts, regular as infant's breath ;
And three firm friends, more sure than day and night,—
Himself, his Maker, and the angel Death.

The man who could write these things has said of himself—"I have felt, and deeply, that the poet's high functions were not my proper assignment, that many may be worthy to listen to the strains of Apollo, neighbours of the sacred choir, and able to discriminate and feel and love its genuine harmonies, yet not, therefore, called to receive the harp in their own hands, and join in the concert. I am content and gratified that Spenser, Shakspeare, Milton, have not been born in vain; and I feel it as a blessing, that even among my contemporaries I know one at least who has been deemed worthy of the gift,"—he spoke, of course, of Wordsworth,—"who has received the harp with reverence and struck it with the hand of power." The self-abasement is strange, and, believing it genuine, we must hold it to be beautiful. It is to me more full of interest than the bold self-admiration and uncompromising self-assertion, which have distinguished some of the greatest poets from the days of Horace to those of Milton and of Wordsworth, and the humility of Coleridge will not make us slower to recognise his genius. "The temple of Fame stands upon the grave—the lights which burn upon its altars are kindled from the ashes of the great;"—and the opinion of his country and the world has redressed the wrong with which evil tongues and perverse judgments too long pursued him, recognising his full possession of the "high functions" which his own modesty disclaimed.

We may mourn for the opportunities which escaped him

without improvement, and the moral imperfections which marred his usefulness and darkened his life, and the disproportion of his actual performance to his power and promise. We may refuse to take aspiration for achievement, or confound possibility with fact. But, contemplating all the things of beauty which he has bequeathed, to be "a joy for ever" to us and to our children; and all the traditions of his incomparable speech, which had its mission and did its work, though it was spent upon the air, and has been lost to us; and all the wisdom which may still be gathered from the imperfect books he has left behind him; and all his good and worthy service in purifying and spiritualising the intelligence of his race; we shall cherish with gratitude and reverence the memory of a man whom his own words may most fitly picture,—

> The studious poet, eloquent for truth,
> Philosopher, contemning wealth and death,
> Yet docile, child-like, full of life and love!

CARDINAL NEWMAN.

Cardinal Newman.

[In 1880, the following Address was presented to Cardinal Newman, at Edgbaston, Birmingham, on behalf of a deputation from the Catholics of Ireland.]

ON behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, we approach your Eminence, to congratulate you on your elevation to the sacred Purple, and to express the sentiments of reverence and affection with which you have inspired them, by the greatness of your genius and the nobleness of your life.

Have we need to speak of the gifts which God has bestowed upon you, and the priceless services you have rendered to His Church? They have, long ago, received a world-wide acknowledgment, and won you an illustrious name.

You have triumphed in every field of mental effort—as a philosopher, an historian, a theologian, an orator, and a poet. You have wielded the most varied powers with equal mastery. Your writings have given light and joy to millions of your fellow-men. You have exercised an influence almost without parallel on individual minds. You have impressed your age by the energy of your convictions, the depth and clearness of your insight, the affluence of your learning, the power and subtlety of your reasoning, and the magic of your style.

You have contended for the Truth with heroic courage and self-sacrificing devotion, and commended it to accept-

ance in the gracious spirit of an all-embracing charity;—whilst you have been ready, on many a fit occasion, with trenchant logic, or exquisite humour, or stern invective, to confound the sophist and calumniator.

To your high qualities and memorable acts eloquent testimony has been borne in the addresses lately presented to your Eminence, and we are conscious that no words of ours can increase the universal estimation which they have commanded. But we remember with honest pride that our country has had peculiar relations with you; and, as Catholic Irishmen, we cannot refrain from the special utterance of our feelings towards one who has been so signally our friend and benefactor.

In the prime of your years and the fulness of your fame, you came to do us service. You left your home, and those who were most dear to you, and the engagements and avocations in which you had found your happiness, to labour for our intellectual and moral well-being. You dedicated yourself to the improvement of the higher education of our people—a work as noble in conception as it was difficult in execution: and whatever success that work has achieved, or may achieve hereafter, must be largely attributed to your Eminence.

Of the wisdom of your administration as Rector of the Catholic University of Ireland, the untiring toil you gave to all its details, and the enthusiastic attachment which bound to you its professors, its students, and all who came within the sphere of your influence, the memory has survived your departure, and is still fresh amongst us.

When you returned to England, you left behind precious and enduring memorials of your presence in the beautiful Collegiate Church which we owe to your personal munificence;—the discourses you delivered within its walls, unsurpassed even amongst your own incomparable sermons;—the

excellent periodicals, the *Atlantis* and *Gazette*, which you brought into existence and enriched by some of the finest of your compositions; and, above all, those Lectures and Essays on University education, abounding in ripe erudition, suggestive thought, perfect language, and sage counsel on matters affecting the highest human interests, which are a possession of incalculable worth to Ireland and the world.

We cannot forget the words of cordial kindness in which you have proved, so often, your sympathy with the Irish race; and encouraged them to find, in the remembrance of their faithfulness to their old Religion, the promise of a happier future.

For these reasons, we, who have watched your career with constant admiration and unwavering confidence, desire to offer you our homage, in union with that which has been tendered to you, so abundantly, on every side. You have not been altogether spared the dishonouring misconceptions which have been the portion of the best and greatest of mankind. But they have ceased to trouble you. Your endowments of heart and intellect have compelled a recognition quite unexampled in its unanimity and earnestness; and we come, to-day, on the part of the Catholic People of Ireland, to join in the applause with which the nations of Christendom have hailed your enrolment among the Princes of the Church, and to proclaim their reverential gratitude to the Sovereign Pontiff, for the gracious act by which he has marked his appreciation of your labours and crowned them with the highest earthly sanction.

CHARLES WILLIAM RUSSELL, D.D.

Charles William Russell, D.D.

[This paper appeared in "The Irish Ecclesiastical Record," of July, 1880.]

I HAVE been asked to write briefly of the life and character of one who was very dear to me. I have hesitated to comply with the request, because I feel that it is impossible to describe him worthily within the limits prescribed in a periodical, like this, and because, so soon after his removal, the materials for a fit record would not be available, even if there were ample space to use them. Those materials exist, and will, I trust, be employed, hereafter, in a work doing some justice to the nobility of his nature, the power of his intellect, the range of his accomplishments, and his great services to his Church and to his Country.

The career of a scholar and a saint does not commonly abound in incidents such as enrich the biographies of men of action. It may be fruitful of great results; whilst its silent labours and its spiritual achievements furnish scant occasion for elaborate description or stimulating detail. Still, it seems to me that, in the correspondence and the writings of the late President of Maynooth—of whom scholarship and sanctity were special characteristics—in his wide relations with many of the most eminent men of his time, of various faiths and various positions in society, and in the work he did for the College, which was his constant home from youth to age—commanding the devotion of his best faculties and the earnest attachment of

his warm and generous heart—there may yet be found the groundwork of a memoir of the highest interest and value.

I am painfully conscious, how incapable I am of attempting even a shadowy outline of such a memoir; and I shrink from degrading a noble subject by poor and inadequate treatment of it. But, on the other hand, I feel that I have some capacity to speak of the impression which he made on those who knew him best, and of the rare qualities by which that impression was produced.

He was my friend for nearly half a century, and, during that long period, our intercourse was continual and our attachment unfailing. We followed very diverse paths in life; but, through all its chances and changes, we maintained an intimacy most close and trustful. I had no sorrow in which he did not share, and I had no success which did not give him joy. He was my kindly counsellor in troubles and perplexities. His bright and genial presence was familiar in my home: and by all its inmates he was much beloved. In many a sad bereavement, he was their stay and comfort. He watched and prayed by the death-beds of the dear ones whom it pleased God to take from me; and he was the best consoler of those who were left. The remembrance of him is, more or less, associated with all that has been pleasant and all that has been mournful in my existence: and his loss has left a blank in it which I can never hope to fill. Therefore, my knowledge of him was peculiar as it was ample. It, at least, enables me to indicate some of the mental and moral gifts which secured for him so much esteem and admiration: and I shall attempt to do so in brief and simple words.

Charles William Russell was the son of Charles Russell and Anne M'Evoy. The families represented by his father and his mother were of respectability and influence. He

was born on the 14th of May, 1812, at Killough, a seaport in the county of Down. He was sent to Drogheda to be educated, and attended, successively, the schools of Mr. Hamilton and Dr. Needham. In his early years, he gave evidence of great industry and intellectual promise, which continued and increased when he was transferred to the care of the Rev. Dr. Nelson, of Downpatrick, then at the head of a seminary of a high class, in which very many distinguished priests of the diocese of Down and Connor received the preliminary instruction which fitted them for entrance into Maynooth. From his boyhood, he had manifested a fixed inclination for the ecclesiastical state, and his mental development was so rapid that, when only fourteen years of age, he was judged fit to enter college, bringing with him a knowledge of classics and English literature rarely attained at such a period of life.

His course at Maynooth was uniformly successful and distinguished. He never relaxed in his efforts to master the special subjects with which he was required to deal; whilst he gave laborious attention to the cultivation of general letters, and the formation of that refined and accurate taste which was one of the remarkable endowments of his maturer manhood. He is described as utilising every hour and minute of his time. He rapidly attained a high position in the esteem of the collegiate authorities and his fellow-students, to whom he was endeared by the unceasing kindliness and self-abnegation which continued always to beautify his life. He took a foremost place in all his classes, and found his favourite recreation in the study of modern languages and the literature of the modern world. High hopes were formed of his future eminence. He was elected to the Dunboyne Establishment in 1832; and when the Rhetoric chair became vacant in 1834, he proposed to compete for it; but he was induced to waive

his claim, and to give way to the Rev. Thomas Furlong, afterwards the pious Bishop of Ferns, who was thereupon promoted from the chair of Humanity. Charles Russell was still too young to receive ordination as a priest, when he went through a public concursus for the latter chair and succeeded to it with universal approbation.

For ten years, he continued to discharge the duties of his professorship, with complete mastery of its business, and a conscientious devotedness and untiring zeal which bore admirable fruit in their influence on the young aspirants to Holy Orders, to whom the training they receive at the outset of their ecclesiastical career must always be of extreme importance. There are numbers of priests in Ireland, who look back with deep gratitude to the services he rendered them as their first professor.

In 1845, the chair of Ecclesiastical History was established in Maynooth, and no one doubted that he was incomparably the best qualified to fill it. No Irish ecclesiastic had any pretension to compete with him. His knowledge of general history, of the history of the Church, and of cognate subjects—his acquaintance with the Fathers—his familiarity with the researches of Continental critics, and his wide and varied literary acquirements—qualified him exceptionally for the task imposed upon him; and, without competition, he was established in the chair. How he discharged its obligations, I need not say. With what clearness of exposition, with what affluence of information, with what keenness of insight, with what appreciation of character, with what accuracy of detail, with what candour and integrity he traced the fortunes of the Church for her future ministers, those who attended his prelections will rejoice to testify; and their testimony will be corroborated by all who have

read the many critical and historical disquisitions which were some of the fruits of his studies, contributed chiefly to the *Dublin Review*.

He continued to hold the chair of Ecclesiastical History until the death of the President, Dr. Renehan, in 1857, when he became the ruler of the College in which he had spent most of the days of his life. There was wide-spread satisfaction at the choice. It was felt that he would admirably maintain the dignity, and worthily wield the influence, of his high office; and that his temperate wisdom and strict justice gave assurance of an exercise of his authority, which would satisfy every reasonable requirement, and promote the happiness of all submitted to it.

I adopt the words of one who, having known him well, has written of him becomingly:—"The prudence and zeal with which he discharged all the duties of his most responsible office amply justified the choice that had been made. In his exalted position the great virtues by which he was distinguished shone conspicuously. While he won the respect of the students by the dignity of his character, he won their love and affection still more by the paternal solicitude he manifested in their welfare."

There are men from whom there goes forth an effluence either repellent or attractive—either exalting or abasing—to those whom it affects; and the very demeanour of the new President—the mode in which he bore himself in his place of honour—the dignified cordiality of his manner—the serene self-reliance which gave ease and grace to all his actions—were to the mass of students an example and a model of inappreciable worth.

Whilst he laboured in the chair of Ecclesiastical History, and afterwards discharged his onerous presidential duties, he contributed largely to the current literature of the time, and produced many works of permanent interest and im-

portance. On the establishment of the *Dublin Review*, he was associated with Cardinal Wiseman as one of the chief directors of the work; and, for many years, he enriched its pages, in every number, with articles which commanded the attention of scholars and the general public, in a remarkable degree. Indeed, he continued unremittingly to sustain it by such articles, after he had ceased to have special responsibility in connexion with it, and until he was stricken down by the unhappy accident which caused his untimely death. His latest contributions were two charming papers on the English Sonnet, abounding in critical acumen and exhaustive knowledge. His biography of Cardinal Mezzofanti is a book of permanent authority in England and on the Continent, to whose men of letters competent translations have made it familiar. It is full of rare and curious information, presented with artistic completeness, and in a style of equal simplicity and force. He published Leibnitz's "Systema Theologicum," with a lucid introduction and learned notes. He translated from the German the tales of Canon Von Schmid, in three ample volumes, which have had a large circulation. He prepared,—in conjunction with Mr. Prendergast, the historian of the Cromwellian Settlement,—a report of the highest value on the Carte MSS. in the Bodleian Library; and with that accomplished gentleman he prosecuted, laboriously and successfully, the task imposed upon him as a member of the Historical Manuscript Commission. He wrote many papers in the *Edinburgh Review*, the first of them, in 1854, having been the Mezzofanti article, which preceded the elaborate biography I have mentioned, and the latest, a very ingenious and erudite paper on the "Pseudo-Sibylline Poems," which appeared in July, 1877. The *North British Review*, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the *English Encyclopædia*, the *Academy*, and several other literary journals, from time to

time, sought and received the aid of his ripe scholarship and facile pen. I cannot pretend to exhaust the list of his publications in this perfunctory sketch; but I have said enough to show how full of earnest effort was his life, and how well he employed all the moments he could snatch from official toils, which were very anxious and absorbing. A collection of his occasional writings will, I doubt not, be made, which the world will appreciate as an acceptable gift.

His relations with the best men of the day were wide and varied. Amongst Catholics, of every class, his name was held in high respect; and there were numbers of Protestants of distinction, intellectually and socially, who were much attached to him. He had the confidence and regard of successive Pontiffs. He was cherished by that venerable Hierarchy into which he declined to enter. He was the bosom friend of Cardinal Wiseman. He was, also, the friend of the present Prime Minister, who admired his high qualities and sought familiar intercourse with him, when he came to London. The Fellows of Oxford were always happy to receive and entertain him, on his frequent visits to the Bodleian, with full recognition of his intellectual gifts. I do not mention very many others, whose friendship was valuable, and who deemed themselves honoured in possessing his. But I cannot pass unnoticed the remarkable incident which links his name for ever with that of the great Oratorian, to whom he did noble service in the supreme crisis of an illustrious life. Thus, Cardinal Newman speaks of him in the famous "Apologia":—

"The letter which I have last inserted is addressed to my dear friend, Dr. Russell, the present President of Maynooth. He had, perhaps, more to do with my conversion than any one else. He called upon me in passing through Oxford in the summer of 1841, and I think I took him over some of the buildings of the University. He called again another

summer on his way from Dublin to London. I do not recollect that he said a word on the subject of religion on either occasion. He sent me at different times several letters; he was always gentle, mild, unobtrusive, uncontroversial. He let me alone."

And, again, in the dedication of "Loss and Gain," these are the terms in which he was addressed by one of the greatest of living men:—

"My Dear Dr. Russell,

"Now that at length I take the step of printing my name in the title-page of this volume, I trust I shall not be encroaching on the kindness you have so long shown to me if I venture to follow it up by placing yours in the page which comes next to it, thus associating myself with you and recommending myself to my readers by the association.

"Not that I am dreaming of bringing down upon you, in whole or part, the criticisms, just or unjust, which lie against a literary attempt which has in some quarters been thought out of keeping with my antecedents and my position; but the warm and sympathetic interest which you took in Oxford matters thirty years ago, and the benefits which I derived from that interest personally, are reasons why I am desirous of prefixing your name to a tale which, whatever its faults, at least is a more intelligible and exact representation of the thoughts, sentiments, and aspirations then and there prevailing, than was to be found in the pamphlets, charges, sermons, reviews, and story-books of the day.

"These reasons too must be my apology, should I seem to be asking your acceptance of a volume which over and above its intrinsic defects is, in its very subject and style, hardly commensurate with the theological reputation and ecclesiastical station of the person to whom it is presented.

"I am, my dear Dr. Russell,

"Your affectionate friend,

"JOHN H. NEWMAN,

"Of the Oratory."

Whilst he thus led a life of unceasing activity and various usefulness;—whilst he, at once, elevated his own scholastic reputation and that of his College, and maintained its discipline with a firm but kindly rule;—whilst his labours in the Press enriched the domains of History and Theology, and his personal influence and acceptance amongst the best

of his contemporaries dissipated outworn prejudices against the religion to which he clung with his whole heart, and rebuked the bigotry which assails it, as inconsistent with manly independence and mental progress; he effected material changes which make the great seminary he governed very deeply his debtor. Of these, I can only pause to mention the cemetery which he beautified, and the collegiate church which will be his enduring monument.

Amongst his many accomplishments were numbered his knowledge of the principles of ecclesiastical architecture, and his study of the matchless masterpieces which the genius and piety of the children of the Church, in other generations, dedicated to her honour and the glory of the Almighty. He mourned over the venerable ruins which testify to the Irish people how much their fathers loved the beauty of God's house, and how cruel was the iconoclastic fury which dared to profane and destroy the temples of His worship. He earnestly desired that for the rude and formless chapels which had been raised in their stead, with difficult and painful effort, when Catholic Ireland emerged from the gloom of the penal days, buildings should be substituted more worthy of the Faith for which she had struggled with desperate fidelity, and of the happier fortunes which, at last, permitted its freedom and full development. As President of the Ecclesiological Society, he did his best to advance this purpose; and in Maynooth, which from its foundation had possessed a chapel inadequate, in extent, to the needs of its great community, and unfit, in construction, to be associated with Pugin's imposing work, he resolved that another should be erected, of which Ireland and the *Alma Mater* of her Priesthood need not be ashamed.

It was an undertaking of extreme difficulty, and the want of money to accomplish it delayed its commencement

for a long time. But, at last, he made the bold endeavour, single-handed. He sent circulars everywhere. He laboured incessantly to make them effective. His pressing and continuous appeals were liberally answered. His personal popularity gave them wide effect; and from all parts of the country, as well as from the Continent and America, contributions poured in so freely that he was enabled to commence his enterprise, with the aid of the constructive genius and the large experience of Mr. J. J. MacCarthy, to whom the architectural *renaissance* of the Church in Ireland is so largely indebted for labours which have won him a high reputation and a strong claim to public gratitude. The building went on successfully; and approached completion, when its author ceased to have power to help it further, and left it, with deep regret, to the care of others, who will prosecute it to the end, reverently regardful of his wishes, stimulated by his example and eager to perpetuate his memory.

It has been asked, in a journal of high standing, why was not a man gifted with such rare endowments and capacities raised to the Episcopate or to the Purple? And the answer supplied by the propounder of the question has been so misleading, that even in this brief notice I am bound to repudiate it. The statement that he was not promoted because of a divergence of sentiment between him and the authorities of the Church, or its Supreme Head, is wholly without foundation. To him, and to them, his loyalty was given, at every period of his life, with absolute devotion. He was not a Bishop, because of his own free choice and persistent determination. I do not desire to pry into the motives by which he was actuated. His books were dear to him. He delighted in the quiet exercise of his high faculties, in the accumulation of knowledge and the culture of taste. He

had real humility, and no ambition ; and when he said, over and over again, "*Nolo episcopari*," the negative expressed the true and unchanging purpose of his soul. He was appointed to the Bishopric of Ceylon, when he was barely thirty years of age. He declined the nomination, and had great difficulty in escaping it. The Pope, Gregory XVI., desired to force the high responsibility upon him, and he was obliged to go to Rome and struggle for a twelvemonth before he was allowed to reject the mitre and return to his professorship. Afterwards, when a vacancy occurred in his native Diocese of Down and Connor, on the death of my dear and honoured friend, Dr. Denvir, he was placed first in the list presented by the clergy to the Bishops and chosen for the succession by the Holy See. But again he declined the proffered elevation, and again he found the gravest opposition to his earnest desire of avoiding it. Under Pius IX., as under Gregory XVI., his worth was appreciated and his service sought; and he remained in his humbleness because he chose to do so.

At a subsequent period, he might certainly, in my opinion, have ascended the Primatial Chair of St. Patrick, if he had only allowed it to be understood that he would not again render the recommendation of the clergy ineffectual; and there is no ground for doubt that he might have been enrolled amongst the princes of the Church, if he had not been resolved to shrink from a position which might have naturally led to his entrance into the Sacred College. I remember, at that time, urging him, with all the force I could command, to forego his resolution. But my reasoning and persuasion were vain. He would not be taken from his obscurity, and burthened with dignity and power. And so he rested in the collegiate home he had chosen in his boyhood, and in which he desired to close his tranquil life.

But that life was to be abruptly and prematurely ended. His health was excellent. It was maintained by his buoyancy of spirit and wise regard to sanitary conditions. For the sake of example, he had taken the pledge from Father Mathew, and he kept it inviolate for more than thirty years. His friends feared the effect of his abstinence, and often urged him to relax its strictness; but he was firm, and steadfastly abided by his promise. He was an accomplished horseman, and had great enjoyment in his daily rides, which he continued, in full health and vigour, until, on the 16th of May, 1877, the fatal accident occurred which resulted in his death. He was thrown from his saddle in the street of Maynooth, and suffered concussion of the brain. Although he lived for a considerable period, he never recovered from the shock, or regained his former energy. He bore his long sufferings with constant cheerfulness and uncomplaining patience, and the Master, whom he had served so well, took him to his reward on the 26th day of February, 1880.

I have outrun the little space allotted to me; but I cannot conclude without saying a word of the moral qualities which, more than his mental power, or his ample erudition, or his intellectual industry, or his finely-balanced judgment, or his exquisite literary taste, won for him so widely attachment and respect.

> His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, this was a Man!

He was a gentleman in the truest and highest sense of that noble epithet—regardful of others, forgetful of himself,—exhibiting, on all occasions, a stately but kindly courtesy—full of unselfish interest in the pursuits and aspirations

of those around him,—with a heart alive to every high emotion, and a hand

> Open as day to melting charity !

If I may specify the attributes which seemed to me most to illustrate and adorn his character, I would say they were his truthfulness, his tolerance, and his consideration for all of whom he spoke or with whom he acted.

He was utterly incapable of doubleness or indirectness in word or deed. No one could approach him, under any circumstances, without feeling the assurance that he spoke his thoughts with fearless freedom, and that he was entitled to absolute reliance. His pure spirit was never tainted by the semblance of deceit or subterfuge.

And it is literally true to say, that he was never heard to utter an uncharitable word of any one. He was always prompt to put the best construction on human conduct, and when he could not honestly approve, his custom was to be silent, unless duty required him, in his official capacity, to rebuke or punish. I have never met a man who so nearly realised, in his whole life and conversation, the perfection of that virtue which the Apostle of the Gentiles describes, in the most marvellous passage of his inspired eloquence, as greater than any other. Sometimes, his toleration seemed to verge on weakness. But it was the outcome of a mental discipline which enabled him to exercise the "energy of silence," when it was possible that his words might, in any degree, be injurious to a fellow-creature. He had learned to put that bridle on his tongue, without which the highest authority has declared the religion of a Christian to be vain. And although he had a clear insight into human character, and a prompt perception of faults and shortcomings, he was chary of blaming any one, and full of all allowances for error.

He had habitually and completely submitted himself to the great law of Charity.

It was by these and kindred virtues that he mastered so many hearts, and established, without effort, a wonderful influence which he did not seek to acquire, and of which his modest and humble nature scarcely permitted him to be conscious. His manners reflected the tenderness and serenity of his soul, and made him dear wherever he was known. A monk of the Mediæval time, depicting a brother who had exchanged the camp for the cloister, has fittingly described the graciousness and the holiness of CHARLES WILLIAM RUSSELL:—

> Ultra modum placidus, dulcis et benignus,
> Ob aetatis senium candidus ut cygnus,
> Blandus et affabilis et amari dignus,
> In se Sancti Spiritus possidebat pignus.

HENRY GRATTAN.

Henry Grattan.

[This letter was written to the Earl of Charlemont on the commencement, in 1869, of a subscription for the erection of a statue of Henry Grattan.]

RUTLAND SQUARE WEST,
January 9th, 1869.

MY DEAR LORD CHARLEMONT,—I enclose a cheque in aid of the fund for the erection of a statue of Henry Grattan, as I learn that you fitly take a leading part in the movement for that good purpose, which has been so generously and hopefully begun.

I tender you my humble co-operation, because that movement is not of a party or a sect, but of a nation, offering its grateful reverence to one of its worthiest sons.

I remember the feeling with which, long years ago, I stood in Westminster Abbey, beside a shattered slab, bearing the name of Henry Grattan, and thought it a symbol of the broken fortunes of the land for which he lived and died. It seemed to me a reproach to Ireland that his dust should have been left in English earth, with no better monument, by the people to whom he rendered such loving service. And now I rejoice that we are, at last, uniting, in a time of hope and progress, to put away that reproach for ever.

We may hold various opinions with reference to Grattan's policy and conduct; but we can have no dissension as to his pure and earnest life, his public virtue, his indomitable courage, his true and unchanging devotion to his country,

the achievements by which he lighted up the fairest page of our dismal story, the genius which ranked him amongst the foremost of the orators of the modern world!

The Irish Protestant will not hold unworthy of his homage the chief of the great men of his own faith, whose labours and sacrifices for Ireland have given lustre to their race. The Irish Catholic will be emulous to honour him who, in evil days,—untainted by corruption and unawed by power,—was the dauntless champion of Religious Liberty.

The fame of Henry Grattan is the common and the proud inheritance of all good Irishmen. It is no longer clouded by popular prejudice or the malignity of faction. It suffers no more from the insolence of authority or the fickleness of the crowd. It lifts him high on the roll of the benefactors of his country; and we should all rejoice to demonstrate, according to our power, how dear it is to the memory and the heart of Ireland.

Believe me,

Dear Lord Charlemont,

Yours faithfully,

THOMAS O'HAGAN, C.

SIR ALEXANDER MACDONNELL, BART.

Sir Alexander Macdonnell, Bart.

[This Letter was written to Sir Patrick J. Keenan, the Resident Commissioner of National Education in Ireland, on the occasion of unveiling a Statue of Sir Alexander Macdonnell, in 1878.]

13*th August*, 1878.

MY DEAR KEENAN,—Will you oblige me by expressing to the Duke of Leinster and the Committee my great regret that I cannot be present at the unveiling of the statue? I owe them a special apology, as they kindly postponed it for my convenience.

I am obliged to move the second reading of the Sunday Closing Bill, of which I have charge in the House of Lords, and I must endeavour to carry that much-contested measure successfully through its remaining stages. On this account, I shall be unable to leave London before Thursday evening.

I am deeply grieved that I must be absent on an occasion in which I take the truest interest; and I cannot refrain from saying that I trust the statue of Sir Alexander Macdonnell may prove a fit memorial of one whom, from a life-long intimacy, I am bold to describe as amongst the noblest men who have done honour to the Irish race.

He had every claim to such a distinction. He was very rich in intellectual gifts. His scholarship was of the rarest and ripest kind. He wrote and spoke with singular grace and eloquence. He was at home in every department of

literature, and familiar with every branch of political knowledge. He was wise in counsel as he was earnest in action; and his fidelity in friendship was matched by the consistency with which he asserted, unchangingly, the great principles of liberty and progress.

His public career did not altogether fulfil the high promise of his youth. At this moment, the memory of his almost unexampled successes, as a student, preserves for him a lofty reputation in Oxford, of which few in Ireland have ever heard. His proud modesty held him too much apart from the rude trials of professional and political contention; but many of his contemporaries, who won distinction in Parliament and rose to ministerial rank, would have readily admitted his superiority to themselves.

Probably, however, in the course it was given him to pursue, he did more real good to the country which he loved, than he could have accomplished in a position of more apparent importance, and more fruitful in influence and fame. The Irish people will never know how much they and their children are indebted to him for the anxious labours of those thirty years which he dedicated to their improvement, with a devotion as constant and effective as it was unostentatious.

I was bound to him, almost from my childhood, by close affection. I hold his memory in loving reverence; and I am glad that the ceremonial of to-day will make a lasting recognition of his high worth and great public services.

I am,

My dear KEENAN,

Ever yours,

O'HAGAN.

IRELAND IN 1853.

Ireland in 1853 : *Hopes of Progress.*

[A Lecture delivered in aid of the Library of the Working Classes' Association of Belfast, in 1853.]

SOME years have elapsed since I was honoured with a request that I should deliver a lecture on behalf of the Belfast Working Classes' Association. I felt it a pleasure to comply with that request, for I have not ceased to regard with true interest and natural pride the prosperity of the town in which I was born ; I believe that institutions wisely established for the diffusion of sound intelligence amongst its people must greatly assist in advancing that prosperity ; and I should rejoice to promote it, even in the humblest way.

The pressure of many engagements has delayed the fulfilment of my undertaking, from time to time, but it has never been abandoned ; and I am glad, to-night, that I am enabled to meet, once more, many with whom I have long been happily associated, in a place so rich to me in memories of pleasant days gone by and good men who have departed —of the keen enjoyments and the light troubles of early life —of the aspirations of youth and the endeavours of manhood—of friendships which have outlived vicissitude, and dear affections which change no more can weaken or time destroy, for they are made immortal in the consecration of the grave.

Forgive me these words of reference to the past. Forgive me, also, if I say another and a sadder word of one whose

name, unhappily belonging to it now, ought not to be forgotten in this Hall. When I was last urged to fulfil my promise to your association, I was told that the lamented nobleman, who had so deep an interest in its welfare, would occupy the place which is held to-night by my friend, Dr. Henry. A few short months are gone; and foreign earth holds all that was mortal of the good and gentle Lord Belfast. He has been stricken down in the very bloom and pride of his existence—in the full possession of high ability and rare accomplishments, and the true graces of character and manners which are yielded by a genial nature and an unselfish heart. His life was bright with promise, and rich in usefulness. He would have spent himself, and all his endowments of capacity and acquisition, for the welfare of his fellow-men. He would have adorned his order and served his country. But it was otherwise designed—

> Oh, sir, the good die first,
> And they, whose hearts are dry as summer dust,
> Burn even to the socket!

God has been pleased to take him in his youth, disappointing the hope and love which hung around him, and teaching us humbly to remember, in the bereavement, "what shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue!" By the members of your society, to whom he was ever a considerate and faithful friend, his memory should be held in especial honour. They will perpetuate it fitly, in connexion with the great institution which he laboured to establish for the benefit of your town, and in which he will find his noblest monument. And they will not blame me if I have thought it becoming, for them and for myself, to say how greatly he was valued, and how truly he is mourned.

It has been suggested to me, that I may properly fulfil my task, by speaking to you of the social and industrial prospects which are opening before us; and I have thought

the suggestion good, and the topic suitable to the time, the occasion, and the auditory—for the time is one of great and unexampled change in the condition of our people; the occasion is that of an appeal for the benefit of working men bent to exalt themselves by moral culture, and so to exalt their country; and the auditory comprises very many of those who have already fought and won the battle of self-reliant industry which Ireland is beginning. From such an auditory, on such an occasion, and at such a time, I may venture to solicit some attention to such a subject.

And, having determined to direct your thoughts briefly to the probable future of Ireland, I have some reason to congratulate myself that I could not sooner comply with your invitation; for I do not now address you, as I must heretofore have done, at a period of national calamity. The country begins to be filled with unwonted energy, and stirs with the buoyancy of renovated life. There is bustle on our old highways, and our new ways of iron. There is thronging in the marts of commerce, and affluence in the farmer's homestead. A new career invites the nation to brace itself for hopeful progress; and he who speculates on the coming time may utter words of congratulation, and mingle lessons of warning with prophecies of good.

The divisions which have made us weak and miserable have been numerous as they have been fatal, penetrating every region of speculation and every field of action, in which harmonious working was most clearly necessary to our common good; but, differing as we may in other things, we must all entertain the sad conviction that Ireland has not fulfilled her destiny; for we all know that she has capacities which have never been developed, and means of wealth and happiness which have been useless for ages to her wretched people. Why has this been so? Nature does nothing vainly; Providence

does not offer occasions of advancement to mankind without a benign purpose that they shall be profitable in its own appointed time. Is there anything in the frame, or the heart, or the intellect of the Irishman which must render him a perpetual anomaly amongst his race, and nullify for ever, in his regard, the general laws of Providence and Nature? It behoves us, in order to think wisely of what may be hereafter, to understand, if we can, some of the reasons of the things that have been.

What has been mainly wanting to our social well-being? In many of the best attributes of a nation—in many of the highest achievements of a nation's mind—we have no cause to blush for our inferiority to any region of the earth. Ireland has been almost equally injured by flattery and abuse—by self-praise, glozing over real faults and follies, and unjust exaggeration of her errors and denial of the worth that is truly hers. It is an injurious weakness to shrink from encountering the truth when it is painful, and conceal from ourselves the evils which deform our national condition. But "he is a mean man who thinks meanly of his country;" and there is less of weakness than of criminality in those who delight to undervalue their own land, and make unnatural ostentation of the defects of its people, instead of dwelling with honest pride on its nobler qualities, and recognising its errors with a reluctant sorrow, or seeking to amend them in the spirit of filial love and reverence. We should strive to avoid either extreme; and, avoiding both, we may confidently say, that the undeniable depression and backwardness of Ireland are not attributable, in any fairness, to want of physical endowment, or natural goodness, or intellectual power.

Physical endowment she has not wanted; for God has given her a teeming soil and untold riches in her plains and waters; and, in their strength and stature and capacity of

sustained and vigorous effort, it is well established that her children, when fairly fed and cared for, can stand in successful competition with the most prosperous and progressive of the races of the world.

Natural goodness has not been the want of Ireland, for we have ever had a people—often indulging in excesses, and often stained with crime—but, *as* a people, full of kindliness, susceptible to all the tender charities which beautify the human soul, capable of great acts of self-sacrifice and self-devotion, and, in their domestic relations and their daily lives, exhibiting a purity of morals to which the earth can scarcely afford a parallel.

Has Ireland been deficient in intellectual power? Surely, she has not. The masses of her inhabitants, through all their poverty and suffering, have been astute, and quick of apprehension, and eager to be informed, and, in the face of the most disheartening difficulties, in the most evil days, have struggled for knowledge bravely. And in what field of art or literature have Irishmen failed to win distinction? Have we not had amongst us scholars, and statesmen, and soldiers, some of them of that imperial order of mankind whose names endure through ages, growing always more renowned as time destroys occasional celebrities, and clears away the mists of temporary passion and local prejudice which confound true greatness with its many counterfeits? Have we not had painters and sculptors of enduring reputation; and orators who need not fear rivalry with the foremost of the modern world, so long as there is memory of Burke and Grattan, and Plunket and O'Connell, and Robert Holmes, whose name your Northern Circuit,—which he adorned for fifty years,—cannot let perish, whilst it has reverence for genius and virtue? Have we not well maintained, in our poetry, the ancient reputation of a race with which its bards had always peculiar favour, especially by

those lyrics which stir many hearts wherever, throughout the world, the English tongue is spoken? And might I not call in aid of the argument for the intellect of Ireland, that music of our fathers, which so symbolises, in its mingled gaiety and sadness, the mixture of sparkling joyousness and depth of feeling which is peculiar to our people? Fragments of that sweet music have been preserved by the pious care of men who are entitled to Ireland's lasting gratitude, and amongst whom townsmen of your own—the great and good physician, James M'Donnell, one of the most accomplished and unselfish of human beings, to whom, more than to all others of his time, Belfast owes its intellectual reputation, and Edward Bunting, whom he stimulated and encouraged in the labour of love, which ended only with existence—deserve to be held always in your kind and proud remembrance. To these precious fragments we might point, if it were needful to draw from the past confirmation of the evidences of the present; and we might point also to the rare relics of extinguished art, which survive so many centuries of strife and suffering, and prove that, in times almost beyond the range of authentic history, Irishmen had learned to fashion metals and precious stones to forms of beauty, and rear temples to God's honour, which, even in their ruins, are majestic and full of venerable grace. But I must pass on from a theme which tempts me, and leave unnoticed the successes of our countrymen in the drama, in fiction, in exact science, in speculative inquiry and in the practical arts. I have said enough to prove that we have not been wanting in intellectual power.

Yet, whilst thus amply blessed with physical, and moral, and mental capacity for good, Ireland has been "steeped in poverty to the very lips." She has failed to advance with the advancing world. Her natural beauty has been

marred by a universal wretchedness, almost unparalleled in civilised or savage states. She has seen millions of her people housed and fed more miserably than the beasts that perish—her cities sinking to decay—her noble harbours empty and desolate—her trade and manufactures almost extinct—her agriculture unskilled and unproductive—the whole framework of her social system hopelessly diseased. Into all the causes of this unhappiness, stretching, as they do, far into the ages that are passed, and connected, as they are, with events of our dark history about which men may form very diverse opinions, I do not mean to enter here. We may seek for those causes in evil legislation or administrative mismanagement, in intestine divisions or international jealousies, in our wilful errors or our malignant fortune. We differ widely on these and other matters, political and social; and my own judgment forbids me, as imperatively as the wise law of your association, to raise any vexed questions in this place.

But as to one great want of Ireland—the want of industrial opportunity and industrial training—there can be no sort of controversy; and, in this single want, in its continuing causes and its deadening influences, there was enough of evil to perpetuate, for long generations, the misery of our people. They had strength, but they were not taught to use it; they had knowledge, but it was not applied to purposes of practical advantage; they had a healthier morality and a more widely-diffused intelligence than communities richer in physical comfort and successful labour; but they were deficient in that education of habit, without which no individual or nation can hope to prosper. And, if the life of a country be thus baulked of a prosperous issue; if it be denied the means of wholesome and fruitful activity; if its children remain, from year to year, vegetating at one low level of squalid want,

without hope of change or ability to improve their hereditary state; it sounds like mockery to boast of their literature or to blazon their art, or to glory in their poetry and eloquence. In the misery of their condition, these things seem only as the wreath upon the grave, the sculptured pomp of the sepulchre which hides corruption.

But the time has come, I fondly hope and confidently believe, when this cardinal want will be supplied to Ireland; and, because I so believe and hope, I look with glad anticipation to her future. We have seen the commencement and the partial progress of a social and industrial revolution, originating in events unforeseen by human prescience and independent of man's control; and we are bound reverently to co-operate, according to our power, with the purposes of an Almighty Providence, which draws from evil its "soul of goodness," and makes of our very suffering the chastening instrument of our redemption.

To give free scope to the awakening energy of Ireland—to remove the obstacles by which law and custom still oppose her progress—to guide the intelligence of her people in wise and useful courses—and, whilst we earnestly promote her industry in agriculture and manufactures and the arts of life, to hold that industry in its true relation to the other agencies of our national advancement, and save our country from the moral mischiefs which have been wrought elsewhere, by the gathering of multitudes into great cities and crowded factories, and the sordid lust of gain, and the low materialism of mere wealth-worship—these seem to me amongst the main duties which the time casts upon those who are fitted to discharge them.

Are we encouraged by the circumstances of our condition to address ourselves to such duties with hopeful energy? Before I proceed to answer the question, by adverting to the events which have altered our prospects for the better,

and given us ground to trust that our national wretchedness is soon to pass away, I feel that I should speak of one remarkable occurrence which has been the herald of the revival of our country, and has made the current year memorable amongst the rare epochs which relieve, by their better fortune, the general gloom of our unhappy history. As if it were the fate of Ireland ever to exhibit strange anomalies and startling contrasts, the world has seen in this, one of its poorest communities, after a wasting famine and a series of terrible distresses which have moved the pity and horror of Christendom, a gorgeous receptacle for the industries of all lands, raised by the single effort of one great-hearted Irishman.* The nations have been invited to generous rivalry on Irish soil, in a humanising strife from which there is no suffering, in which the victor and the vanquished are alike rewarded, which binds together in mutual dependence and mutual respect the combatants of many lands, and impels them forward in the march of civilisation. And the call has been answered, and the richest products of man's invention in every art, which clothes our life with comfort or adorns it with beauty, have been poured into our metropolis; and we are proudly conscious that our own people have given indications of high capability and diligent endeavour, which forbid them to blush for their present inferiority, and promise well for their future success.

Let us not be disheartened, because we have been forced to admit that we have hitherto failed in industrial achievement. Let us not listen to the insolent suggestion, which has been too current in latter times, that the Irish race is unfit for progress, and doomed to perpetual indolence, and thriftlessness, and degradation. Such theories are dishonouring to the Creator, and falsified by the whole history

* William Dargan.

of man. They preach a gospel of despair to prostrate nations. They are invented to sanctify the iniquities of conquest, and perpetuate the oppression of the weak. The African is told by those who traffic in his blood that he was born for bondage. The Irishman is forbidden to hope and strive, because the seal of inferiority is set upon his nature. But sound ethnological inquiry sustains the averment of Holy Writ, that of one blood God formed all the nations, and when we would account for their manifold diversities, we must consider their circumstances and training. And he who will dispassionately examine what have long been the circumstances and the training of Irishmen, will surely reach the conclusion, that these things have produced any peculiar evils which belong to us, and that what of good we have has continued to exist in spite of their injurious influences.

They are not incapable of progress, of whom we know that, as in the grey dawn of European civilisation, they sent forth saints and sages to scatter knowledge and religion broadcast through the earth, so in our own day they are to be found, in the old world and the new, wherever they can get leave to toil with any profit, doing the hardest work of hand and head, and doing it with skill and energy. They are not to be branded as incapable of continued and successful action, of whom he who knows them best, as he belongs to them, and has employed more of them than any score of living men, has testified that, after comparing them with the workmen of various countries, he can pronounce them "second to no others in generous, honest feeling, in genius, and in untiring zeal."

We need not fear for the future from any inherent and ineradicable defects in the character of our countrymen; more especially when we remember—putting out of account all the circumstances, political and social, tending to their

injury, about which there may be difference of sentiment—that, if they have not become great in commerce and in manufactures, they were forbidden, one and all, of every class and creed, until a comparatively recent period, to prosecute the commerce they had begun, or to maintain the manufactures they had established. Mischievous and partial laws forbade their merchants freely to import the produce of foreign countries, and their agriculturists to export the produce of their own. Their greatest and most profitable trade, which maintained 32,000 families, and for which they were famous throughout Europe, was annihilated by one stroke of imperial power. I might advert to abundant facts like these, about which no doubt exists, as rendering it utterly unnecessary to seek in any natural deficiencies of the Irish people—in any want of the common impulses which prompt men to better their condition—in any unconquerable indolence or stolid indifference to their own well-being, the causes of their industrial shortcomings.

It was not that the aid of intermeddling laws and the active influence of Governments were wanting to advance us. We did not fairly share the legitimate assistance which was given from the public funds to great public undertakings in other districts of the empire; and, on this score, the State is still our debtor. But, though we had not the help which was given to distant colonies and rich communities in the neighbour island, and to which we had a right at least as good as theirs, we could have done without it. For—may I not say so, with assurance of ready assent to the proposition in this great town?—human energy, prompted by human interest, will certainly accomplish human progress, if it have only full scope for its activity and freedom from legislative obstruction. So it would have been in Ireland, but she was paralysed by that obstruction, and she had not power to master it.

Better times have come, and wiser counsels have prevailed; and we should look back upon the errors and injustices of the past, only that we may be checked in our onward course by no disheartening consciousness of national incapacity—that we may be roused to needful effort by the certainty of our own ability to work our own deliverance from the mischiefs which hang about us still, and impressed with the conviction that they can continue only through our own default.

The Irishman is not a sluggard or a slave by any law of destiny. Give him liberty of action—give him the fair reward of toil, the motive to exertion, the opportunity of improvement, a progressive future, and an inspiring hope—and he will play a man's part in the battle of life. Because these things have not been his, in his own land, he has sometimes been indolent and reckless, and, under such circumstances, he would not have been human if he had been otherwise.

The course of modern statesmanship and the progress of a sound economy relieve us from any fear lest our industry should hereafter be fettered by ignorant or jealous legislation. Special protection for it we cannot hope; but we may expect fair play, and security from interference to its injury. All things tend to the establishment of perfect commercial freedom, and freedom, also, and facility in the transfer of landed property. But, though this great advantage had been achieved, and though we had obtained the further advantage of those improvements in machinery and the arts, in the rapidity with which thought can be communicated and business transacted, and in the means of universal education, which characterise our stirring age, and fill it with material and moral wonders, we should have found the difficulties inherited from the past almost insurmountable, had not the Wisdom which guides the universe

brought agencies into operation which we could not create, or even imagine, for ourselves.

Ireland has always been chiefly dependent on her agriculture, and whilst a large proportion of her proprietary were insolvent, and her people were not valued as men ought to be, it was impossible that she could rise to a prosperous state. She could not advance, as long as the nominal owners of the soil were forbidden, by their necessities, to discharge the duties of their position, with wise consideration and merciful regard for its unhappy occupants—as long as the masses of her peasantry were sunk in penury, often trembling on the perilous edge of famine, and always without the chance of attaining, by any effort, the common decencies and comforts of civilised life. In the face of these hopeless circumstances, politicians declaimed, economists theorised, and Christians were benevolent, in vain. A chronic disease consumed the vitals of our society. It was intermittent—sometimes breaking out in starvation and pestilence—sometimes exhibited in the horrors of agrarian crime—habitually subduing a community which subsisted on the smallest quantity of the poorest food that could maintain existence, with shelter and clothing of the meanest kind, to a condition of sickly languor and listless inaction.

A great affliction came upon us—one of the strangest and most fearful which ever visited a nation. The food of the people failed. They were swept, in thousands and tens of thousands, from the earth. In thousands and tens of thousands, the survivors fled away. The maintenance of the paupers who did not perish, and could not depart, became a burthen too heavy to be borne by those who had been deeply embarrassed before it fell upon them; and when the day of destruction passed, and men were able to breathe and look around them, they saw a population shrunk far

within its old proportions, and a proprietary weeded of hundreds of its members, whose broken fortunes failed in a trial, from which the soundest and the proudest did not escape unscathed.

It was a fearful time; and we cannot look back upon it without natural anguish. But our business in this world is not to brood upon the past. We must gather from it what help and light we may, and press onward to the work that is before us. When, in the natural body, an evil humour has grown and festered, until it can no longer consist with the endurance of animal life, it struggles painfully to the surface—perhaps in a deforming blotch, or an unsightly sore—but the patient is saved and he is grateful. And so, in communities, when disorders have accumulated, and social corruptions infect the life of the State, it is rarely purified and restored, but through inflictions which at once avenge its old misdoings, and sweep away the obstacles to its healthy progress. Even in this world, it should be plain to the apprehension of a child, that

> Sorrow tracketh wrong,
> As echo follows song,
> Ever, for ever!

And although, as it was with ourselves, the sorrow reaches often the victims, as well as the authors of the wrong, it is mercifully ordered, that our endurance shall rarely be without its compensating advantage.

The effect of the famine has been, that nearly eleven hundred embarrassed landlords have transferred estates to other hands; that one-twelfth of the area of Ireland has changed its owners; that more than ten millions of capital have been invested in the purchase of property from the Incumbered Estates Court; and that new proprietors, fourfold the number of the old, have taken their places.*

* See Note A.—Page 313.

These are facts of a great significance. They indicate, undoubtedly, a lamentable change in the condition of many individuals, some of them answerable for their own destruction, through their own improvidence, but very many the victims of the improvidence of others. There is no pleasure in the spectacle of ruin; and it would be a vulgar baseness to rejoice in the overthrow of old names and honourable titles:—

> Men are we, and must grieve, when even the shade
> Of that which once was great has pass'd away.

Neither let us imagine that, in all cases, the new proprietors are better than the old; for the owner of a moderate estate is not necessarily more kind to his dependents than the lord of a great principality, and the tenant is, by no means, assured of more liberal treatment from the commercial speculator in land, than from the representative of an ancient race. But, taking all this into account, and remembering, also, that crowds of persons who had charges on the incumbered properties, have been subjected to serious loss, and some of them reduced to beggary, we shall yet be justified in believing, that the substitution of a solvent for an insolvent proprietary will, probably, be of great advantage to Ireland.

The landlord who was insolvent could not do his duty. He might be kindly, but his necessities made him cruel. He might be eager to improve, but he had not the power. He might desire the welfare of his tenantry, but his creditors were his masters and theirs; and the money-lender cared only for his interest, though it should be wrung from the blood and marrow of the peasant. For this man, thus devoid of capacity for good, another has often been substituted, who possesses enterprise and energy, is free to act according to his impulses, has intelligence to understand his position, and capital to make it better, and, if he have no old

associations uniting him with the people, is not forced by his poverty to press hard upon them, and may be expected to comprehend the plain truth, that their interests are really identified with his own. Besides, we are to consider, that the unhappy relations of classes in Ireland have not permitted, in very many cases, the existence of those feelings of mutual trust, issuing in the reciprocity of good offices, between the owners and the occupiers of the soil, which, in some other countries, are still an inheritance from the feudal times; and that, therefore, any injury resulting from the change, in this regard, would be of less consequence, even if we could forget that, before the famine, more than one thousand estates were under the control of the Court of Chancery, and that its receivers had no sympathy with any such feelings, whilst their management was the very worst to which a tenantry could be subjected.*

Another very cheering consideration is suggested by the facts which I have stated. Whilst so many insolvent landlords have given place to so many independent purchasers, who have found an opportunity of investing that dormant capital of which much has long existed uselessly amongst us, more than two-thirds of them appear to be persons of comparatively moderate means. The total number of the new purchasers on the 31st March, 1853, was 3,428; and of these, 1,595 had bought small properties costing less than £1,000; 630 had bought properties costing less than £2,000; and 709 had bought properties costing less than £5,000.

Hitherto, one of our worst evils has arisen from the

* Unhappily, the experience of a quarter of a century has too much disappointed the anticipation, once so widely entertained, of benefit from purchases in the Landed Estates Court by men of moderate means, and too fully justified the apprehension that "commercial speculators" might often prove the most exacting and relentless of landlords.

division of the country between the very great and the very humble. We have had no graduated ascent of classes, giving stability and grace to our society. That middle order which connects the aristocracy and the masses of a population, which is free from the peculiar temptations and unaffected by the sometimes hostile feelings of the extremely rich and the extremely poor, which should have the deepest interest in the maintenance of peace, the supremacy of law, and the growth of industry, that great middle order had not existence throughout a large part of the island. Three of our provinces had scarcely any manufactures; and such a class could not rise up in an agricultural country, where none but those of ample fortune, equal to the acquisition of great estates, had the opportunity of acquiring the proprietorship of land; and the operation of family settlements, and the costs of conveyancing and making title, prevented any free disposition of it, in moderate proportions. It is a great advantage that so many men, having a substantial interest in the public welfare—neither too wealthy to be indifferent to profitable exertion, nor too poor to find such exertion impossible—have been enabled to plant themselves on their own small domains, with a title as indefeasible as Parliament can afford them, increasing the riches of the nation whilst they increase their own, and rousing their countrymen to improve by their example and emulate their success. May we not hope that this good work will advance still further, and that we shall see very many more of our people enabled to acquire a permanent abiding-place in their own country—a position of perfect security and perfect independence, in homesteads purchased by the fruit of their honourable toil? We should hail every movement in this direction, and aid it cordially; for by no other can the material prosperity, and the moral elevation, and the loyal citizenship of Irishmen be so effectually secured.

Much, therefore, have the events of these latter years contributed to remove the obstacles to our industrial progress, which the existence of embarrassed landlords and the want of a middle class made so very formidable. But they have done more. Through the terrible processes of destruction and exile, it has come to pass, that, in Ireland, the poor man begins to be found of value, and to enjoy the privilege which even the primal curse reserved to him—the privilege of eating the bread he has earned in the sweat of his brow. It was hard to get this privilege conceded, and we have paid dearly for the concession of it, in the loss of thousands of human beings, perishing by the most horrible of deaths, or borne away by an emigration so vast, and continuous, and prolonged, that the world never saw its like before. But, again, we who survive and remain must look to the consequences; and of these the very plainest is, that the Irishman has a chance, at last, of getting the treatment of a man in return for his labour. Whilst this small justice was denied him; whilst, in agricultural districts, he could gain only tenpence, or eightpence, or fourpence a-day, for a few months in the year, sustaining a death-in-life existence, as best he might, during the remainder, he could not be careful or energetic. His labour was a worthless drug, and his life an idle superfluity. For him, industrial civilisation was impossible.

It was an essential condition of our improvement that all this should be changed, and the change is coming fast. There can scarcely be desperate competition for land or for employment, when the demand for labour begins to exceed the supply, and the tillers of the soil are too few for its cultivation. What the schemes of economists and the devices of legislation had failed to achieve, may be attained through the suffering of some dreadful years. Man begins to be of worth in the labour market; and, hereafter, those who

choose to be industrious will not be forced to stand "all the day idle."

The emigration proceeds; and, if it should continue long at the same rate of progress, the country might be left without a living inhabitant, for the annual decrease of the population has not been nearly supplied. Irishmen have ceased, to a large extent, to cherish their old attachment to the soil, and learned to look to the Western world, as the home, at once, of their hopes and their affections. Their friends are there before them, and prove, in the most practical way, that they are lovingly remembered. The emigration numbers amongst its compensating circumstances the evidence which it has so wonderfully afforded, of the truth and strength of domestic affection amongst our poorest people. Distance does not make them forget their duty to those they leave behind. They think of it when their toil is most severe, and are excited to new effort; and the first fruits of their prosperity are dedicated to the help of their absent kindred, who cannot help themselves. The remittances of the emigrants have done honour, not to our country only, but to human nature; and, in their magnitude and continuance, have beautifully testified to the generous faithfulness and self-denying liberality of the Irish heart.

It is ascertained that, in the last year alone, more than £1,404,000 was thus remitted; and, just in proportion to the number of those who depart, has been the steady increase of their annual contributions for the assistance or removal of their relatives. There is ground for reasonable apprehension that the tide of emigration may run too far; and it is not strange that the peasantry, having such inducements—in addition to every other—to unite themselves with those who give signal proofs at once of their own success in their adopted land and of their attachment to

the partners of their former suffering, should be still induced to throng away in multitudes.

But there is not much cause for fear. This people—this Irish race—will not be extinguished. This island will not become a wilderness. In proportion as its state improves the inhabitants will cease to desire to leave it. When they can thrive in the homes of their fathers, they will not be tempted to a foreign soil. This is not mere speculation although we might rely upon it, even as such, from a consideration of the common motives and feelings which govern human action. The emigration is actually decreasing, as Ireland rises to a better state. In the first quarter of 1851, 45,132 left our seaports; in the first quarter of 1852, 42,289; and in the first quarter of 1853, 36,232. And this diminution has occurred, although the ascertained amount of remittances, with proportional facilities for removal, was, in 1851, £999,000; and, in 1852, had increased to £1,404,000. The first quarter of 1854 will, probably, exhibit a still greater decrease; and the drain will ultimately stop, when the workman's family can enjoy comfort and competence at home. Sooner it will not have an end, and it ought not. The Irishman has found that there is room for him in the world; and he will not pine and starve in voluntary wretchedness, whilst he can enter on the road to prosperity. Unhappily, he is not always prosperous in his exile; but the necessity of the case ought soon to secure to him, everywhere, fair compensation for his labour, and thus will be fulfilled another indispensable condition of our progress.

Have we not further ground for cheerful expectation of the future? A lamentable want of Ireland has been her deficiency in the means of internal communication, though she has natural facilities for its enjoyment which few other lands possess. Many of her districts have been literally

cut off from the world, and masses of her population have never acquired the advantages of that free intercourse with our fellow-beings, which is so full of civilising influence. No country can prosper industrially without that intercourse; and, happily, we may hope for it at last. Hereafter great bridges will span our waters. Viaducts, of which Rome's imperial art might have been proud in its palmy days, will yet traverse our valleys. Broad and level roads will penetrate districts which could have been reached, within living memory, only by the sheep-track or the bridle-path. Railways will bring the remote hamlet into close neighbourhood with busy cities; and our vast lakes and abounding streams, from

> The silver Senan, spreading like a sea,

to the smallest river which is capable of navigation, will be made available for the purposes of commerce. The peasant, whose fathers, dwelling on the richest soil, cultivated rudely a mere patch of earth for the stinted maintenance of their families, because they could gain nothing from crops for which there was no purchaser, will be encouraged to exertion, when he finds the markets of the metropolis and the world open to his industry. The trader will see the riches of many producers brought cheaply to his door, and extend the field of his prosperous speculation; and the traveller will run through the island to its remotest boundaries, with ease and comfort, delighting in the loveliness which circles its shores as with a girdle, and ridding himself of many an evil prepossession against a people, whom he did not esteem because he did not know them.

This great change is only in its commencement. Every day, new projects are conceived; in every direction, new works are undertaken, for the enlargement of our opportunities of intercourse. Districts, which heretofore have

known each other almost as little as if they had been placed in separate hemispheres, have become acquainted. Mutual appreciation will produce mutual trust as well as mutual profit. What is wanting to one will be supplied by another, and reciprocity of service will induce harmony of feeling. The North and the far West are rapidly approaching, and the whole country will soon enjoy, in all its parts, a fruitful interchange of effort and intelligence. Inequalities will be removed and discords reconciled; and, in the struggles of an honest emulation, the best and the worst will be brought more nearly to a level, not by the sinking of any from the position they have reached, but by the rise of all to the rank of the highest.

The natural state of man is not a state of savage isolation. It is that in which he cultivates the charities and fulfils the duties of social life, and attains the fullest development of heart and intellect of which his being is capable in this lower world. To this, the largest, freest, kindliest communication with his fellow-men is necessary: and all things which promote it tend at once to his moral and industrial advancement. And thus it must be in Ireland. The increase of the means of intercourse, whilst it will augment our material prosperity, will enable us to conquer old prejudices and learn the folly of old contentions. We shall forget the unreal phantasms about which we have been striving, in the vigorous and healthy exercise of our awakened energies, and become, as we understand one another and love one another, more and more, a happy and a powerful, because a united people.

To another advance in our national progress, this new facility of intercourse, thus incalculably beneficial in itself, is directly tending. Ireland should become the highway of communication for Europe and the West. Her right to be so is not derived from the favour of any human power, and

cannot be withheld at the will of any. It belongs to the position assigned to her by the Creator, and the common interest of mankind will work out the purposes of His providence. No jealous rivalry of trade, no old monopoly of commercial advantage, can avail to take it from her. Man cannot prescribe against a claim which is asserted in the very constitution of the globe; and the time is coming when we shall see the surface of our country swept by the traffic of two worlds. Of the benefits with which that traffic must enrich us,—how it will employ labour, and awaken activity, and sharpen intelligence, and increase industrial opportunities of every kind—the simplest may understand. But beyond this, of the possible issues of such a change, the most thoughtful must hesitate to form a judgment.

So far, I have spoken chiefly of the general agencies to which we may trust for our improvement. It is right that I should advert, very briefly, to some special departments of industry in which we have seen, or may hope to see, a great revival.

Our mines, so rich and so neglected, are worked, at present, more prosperously than at any former period. Of their existence and their value there is no question, but abortive attempts to make them productive, failing, from time to time, through want of knowledge, or care, or capital, have been disheartening enough. Now, however, money and skill are abundantly employed upon them; the increased facilities for carriage and export increase the number of speculators, and the returns which are yielded in Wicklow, and Wexford, and Cork, and Tipperary, and your own province, will induce similar efforts in other districts with similar results.

Again, our fisheries, which were largely productive, centuries ago—which would avail for the profitable employ-

ment of multitudes of our population, and add much to our national wealth—and which, in latter times, have been so sadly neglected, are compelling the attention of men of enterprise. Who has not observed upon our coasts, with mingled feelings of regret and shame, the fleets of well-appointed vessels which annually throng from Cornwall and other places, to carry off the riches with which our seas are filled? The owners of those vessels are not to be grudged the profit of their industry. But that our own people, to whom nature sends so amply the means of comfort, should refuse to stretch out their hands and accept the gift, is very lamentable. Certainly, no more painful spectacle could be witnessed than that which many of our villages exhibited during the years of famine—men perishing for lack of food on the borders of a sea, from which they might have drawn far more than sustenance, if they had only possessed the little knowledge and the simple implements necessary for the collection of its treasures. This great neglect should not continue; and we must endeavour to prevent its continuance, not only by our own active efforts, but by requiring an amendment of many statutes which have materially contributed to create it. We have never received the assistance which has been afforded to this branch of industry in Scotland and elsewhere; but we may, at least, require that the State, which does not aid, shall not injure it by mischievous legislation. The opening up of the country by so many new means of transport, will serve us much, also, in this regard. The turbot and the lobster, which might have rotted on the coast of Galway a few years ago, because the fisherman could get no buyers in his poor neighbourhood, and had no opportunity of export, are now systematically carried to markets in which they are always welcome, and always command a remunerating price. And so it will be in other places: the laws

will be amended; the people will be roused to exert themselves in a course so plainly profitable; and we shall not hereafter have reason to lament the general indifference to so rich a means of national advantage.

I cannot deny myself the pleasure of speaking to you of the benefits which Ireland is deriving, and should continue to derive, from the employment of her female population. In the old times of the linen trade, it was our boast that all the members of the family could be healthfully and profitably engaged—the grandmother at the spinning-wheel, the father at the bleach-green, and the boys and girls in the processes connected with the preparation of the flax. Often and justly, have we lamented the loss of occupation so remunerative, so wholesome, and so consistent with pure morals and good domestic habits. We have not so much reason to lament it any longer. The trade which has sprung up within a very recent period, employing thousands and tens of thousands of young women, in work most suitable to their age and sex, furnishes an admirable substitute. In the North, the profits of the sewed muslin-workers are counted by millions, and in the South, and partially in the West, a new creation of female industry is one of the most hopeful of the signs of the times. Here and there, it had begun before the famine; but, like other blessings to which I have adverted, it grew and strengthened in the shadow of that great calamity. Religious ladies and ladies of the world vied with each other in a magnanimous effort to help the poor, not by corrupting them with the pittance of the mendicant, but by giving them the means of maintenance from their own labour. The wrangling of factions was stilled at the bidding of humanity. Small passions and outworn prejudices were shamed into extinction, for a time, in the dread presence of a nation's agony. The pressure of

universal suffering forced into common effort the good of every class and creed, and the blessing of Heaven was on their novel union. Industrial schools multiplied and flourished; and whilst, by the instruction they afforded, little children were enabled to save whole families from ruin, they created a new branch of commerce, and gave a permanent addition to the resources of the country. How admirably our peasantry have profited of their rare opportunity, no one need be told who has seen specimens of the lace, and satin-stitch, and crochet, and work in gold and silver, which are produced in the poorest cabins, and command a ready and extending market, from the delicacy and grace of execution, and the fertility of invention in design, which distinguish many of the humble workwomen. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the employment which is thus afforded, not merely from its pecuniary returns, and its manifest capability of indefinite increase, but also from the habits of cleanliness, and order, and regularity, which it should necessarily produce. May we not be proud of this new evidence of the intelligence and taste of our people, when we know that their beautiful fabrics are already valued highly and purchased freely in the capitals of the world? Six centuries ago, the woollens of Ireland were prized by the nobility of Rome and the merchant princes of Florence, and, from what has been accomplished in so brief a period, may we not fairly anticipate, that the manufacture of our poor Irish girls will yet attain a wide celebrity, and rival the lace of Flanders and the embroidery of France?*

It is almost as strange as it is gratifying, that, in the

* See the account of "The Female Industrial Movement" in "The Industrial Movement in Ireland," by J. F. Maguire, M.P.; a work abounding in information of the greatest interest and value. See, also, an admirable paper in *The Irish Quarterly Review* for September, 1852.

establishment of industrial schools and the actual creation of novel manufactures, the energetic benevolence of individuals in Ireland has anticipated and surpassed, in its successful results, the efforts of the Governments of other countries in the same direction. But it may be well worth inquiry, whether the work of that benevolence may not be extended and perpetuated, by a sound organisation in connexion with the public teaching of the people, which is promoted by the State? Something has already been done in this direction, and we may do much more. Skilled labour is not to be had amongst us in sufficient plenty, and our manufacturers have applied, in many instances, to the managers of workhouses to qualify young paupers for the weaving trade, which offers ample employment to thousands of them. We must look carefully to these and other indications of the necessities of our peculiar and somewhat anomalous position, and judge if we cannot improve it, by wisely stimulating and systematising the industrial training of the poor, without risk to the free working of sound economic principles.

Touching, as I am forced to touch, merely the *summa fastigia rerum*, I cannot go into any details as to various branches of our growing industry, many of which are more important and more familiar to you than those to which I have referred. The true statement of the progress of your Northern manufactures wears almost the appearance of a fable. Your first spinning-factory was built within a quarter of a century. In 1839, 15,000 spindles only were at work; in 1850, they had increased to 326,000; and in the commencement of 1853 they numbered 506,000, 100,000 having been added in 1852 alone. In 1829, you had one mill; in 1853, you have nearly one hundred. Our Irish spindles are more numerous than those of England or Scotland, or of any Continental State,

and they multiply in a continually increasing ratio. Again, the growth of flax is extending through the whole kingdom, promoted by the successful efforts of enterprising men, assisted by the invention of new processes and encouraged by a consumption which craves an unlimited supply. In 1848, we had 53,868 acres under this crop; in 1849, 60,314; in 1850, 91,040; and in 1851, 140,536. It is impossible to put any bounds to the advantages which flax cultivation, rightly pursued, may create in such a climate and with such a soil as ours, and Ireland should be roused to improve it by the cheering fact, that already the linen and yarn exports of Belfast alone are equal to those of all France and Belgium, and the half of Germany besides. Shall I tell you of the great prosperity which plainly awaits your rising cotton trade? Or shall I speak of the iron foundries of your town, which have their customers in all the nations of the globe,—in Denmark and Spain, in England and California,—and send out, in triumphant evidence of Irish skill and energy, machines which water the plains of Egypt, and press the olives of the South? Need I remind you of the improvements by which the man of science and the machinist are increasing the productiveness of our agriculture; or dwell upon the new industry, in the extraction of sugar from beet, which has been so successful on the Continent, and promises, from many circumstances, if prosecuted wisely, to be so valuable here?

Of these, and many topics of like interest, the discussion of any one would demand a longer time than this lecture could reasonably occupy. Others, far better qualified for the task, by experience and information, may observe upon them hereafter in this place; but I have attained my object, if I have said enough to indicate the changes in our national circumstances, which give us the promise of improvement, and the development of a wholesome industry by which that promise already begins to be fulfilled.

For its entire fulfilment, we must look mainly to individual energy, without neglect of any necessary amendment in the laws which especially affect our productive classes. The evils of centuries are not extinguished in an hour; and there is no royal road by which we can move smoothly to prosperity. Hard work and steady perseverance are to us, as to every people, the conditions of success, and no power will help us, if we do not help ourselves. But we need, also, that the legislation of the time should be suited to its wants. There is truth in the often-quoted lines,—

> How small, of all that human hearts endure,
> That part which kings or laws can cause or cure!

And we are sometimes tempted, by the freaks of bungling legislators, to wish that Parliament might go to sleep for half a dozen years, and let the country try, whether it would be much the worse, if its people should merely mind their business and say their prayers. But the ignorant or mischievous government of States has undoubtedly been a great producer of human misery. The true province of authority is to give full freedom to a nation's spontaneous industry, and much meddling with it, though from a good design, tends generally to an ill result. And when authority sets itself to meddle injuriously, and puts obstacles in the way of improvement, the mischiefs it has caused must be removed, before that improvement can be satisfactorily accomplished.

Thus, in Ireland, there has been positive legal interference in many ways with the freedom of our industrial action, paralysing effort, disheartening enterprise, and producing poverty, with a long train of evils. We require that this interference shall be put an end to. We should not have our efforts cramped by the lingering operation of old systems, the growth of obsolete circumstances and social exigencies which have disappeared. Labour should

be emancipated from restraints which were put upon it, when it was without encouragement or honour. The restrictions on the free and simple transfer of landed property, which have been bequeathed to us by feudal ages, should be done away; and capital should have the widest field for the exercise of its powers, and the completest warrant for the security of its productions. The relations of the proprietor and the tenant should be arranged, so that antiquated legal theories shall not be permitted to deny the requirements of natural justice—that each shall possess the property which is truly his, and that the tiller of the soil shall be protected in the enjoyment of the fruit of his industry, and encouraged to improve by the assurance that the wealth he may create shall be fairly secured to him. Already, much has been effected to make our legislation what it ought to be; and what remains to be done cannot be long delayed. The intelligence of the country has accepted right principles, and will enforce their practical application; and our law will cease to be disgraced by the reproach, that, clinging to the traditions of the past, it refuses to harmonise with reason or is the enemy of progress.

And, when these things shall be, may we not anticipate that our agriculture and manufactures, overcoming all legal difficulties, by the aid of wise and able men, and relieved from social embarrassments, with which human laws had scarcely power to deal, by the dispensation of Omnipotence, will spring forward in a career of happy and prosperous activity? If I have spoken truly of the material advantages which nature has bestowed upon Ireland, of her virtue, which has been tried through suffering, and her intelligence, which has been bright and clear in her worst extremity, can we despair of her industry, which must enjoy at last a perfect liberty of action, and continually enlarging opportunities of increase? Can we despair of it, whilst

we see around us the living evidences of its capabilities and results? Long years ago, a ford of the river near to whose borders we are assembled won a small, dim place in history, as the scene of a hostile encounter of men and horses. The names of the combatants, and the object of the strife, passed away from human memory; but the ford gave its old name of Bela Fearsat to the neighbourhood; and, from time to time, in our meagre annals, we have rare and doubtful glimpses of its fortunes. We see the chieftains and the Norman knights contending for its mastery; and we read of the castle, which is built to command that ancient ford, gathering around it the dwellings of those who need protection—purveyors to its men-at-arms, perhaps, or humble fishermen;—and making its precincts busy with the rude forerunners of a vigorous race. The castle sinks to ruin—the military strength with which it awed wide districts melts away—the very position of the ford becomes the subject of legal controversy. But the straggling huts grow into a village, and the village into a town. The natural difficulties of the situation are overcome by persevering effort. Houses and quays appear where the Irish boatman guided his little currach, and the unwholesome slob was left green and slimy by the receding tide. Commerce rears its marts, and sends out its sails upon the waters. Intelligence and public spirit rise with the rising fortunes of the place; and, in many a time of national difficulty and trial, it is found to take an honourable part. And, now, we stand upon the spot where the castle and the huts once stood, in the midst of a population, mighty in numbers, and increasing by tens of thousands, abounding in hard-won wealth, flinging up its giant factories and its palaces of trade with magical celerity, showing forests of masts in its harbour and the riches of all lands upon its wharfs, offering full employment to every ⌜soul⌟ within its limits, and

secure in the attainment of that point of progress at which, according to all experience and analogy, it cannot be stationary, but must advance to an indefinitely augmenting prosperity. Is it a vain boast to say, that Belfast has outrun, in the race of progress, many of the proudest cities of the Empire, and exhibited to the world the spectacle of an Irish community, aided by no physical advantages, trusting to no adventitious support, fostered by no patronage of Cabinets or Parliaments, pampered by no doles from the treasury of the State, by its own inherent energy and determined purpose exalting itself to industrial eminence and social importance, with a speed almost unparalleled, and a success beyond expectation or belief? What has been done once may well be done again. What one town has achieved cannot be impossible to others more favoured in position and opportunities, and, as you have made your own future clear before you, why should we not anticipate that our awakened people, stirred by the energising influences which begin to thrill through its invigorated frame, will use its great endowments, and grasp the happiness which is within its reach?*

I have detained you far too long, but I should leave my task unfinished if I failed to say a word of the dangers against which we should be vigilant, whilst we look thus hopefully to the coming time. We have seen, in other countries, the growth of manufacturing greatness attended by the worst mischiefs; and it behoves us, if we can, to learn, from their example, the necessity and the means of warding off those mischiefs from ourselves. Great traders, with unbounded capacities for social usefulness, have degraded themselves, sometimes, to the position of mere money-seekers, without a thought beyond the balance-sheet and the ledger; and, often, multitudes of men and

* See Note B.—Page 315.

women have been crowded together, without moral restraint or intellectual culture, existing only for the production of wealth, and valued and cared for as the spindles and the looms which aid them to produce it. We know that there have been such multitudes—barbarous in their unlettered ignorance, but without the freedom or dignity of savage life, at the very centre of a vainglorious civilisation—seeking their happiness in the base enjoyments of sensual appetite—indifferent to the obligations of religion, its exalting influences and its consoling hopes—and passing to their graves, without knowledge of the God who made them or the immortal destiny for which they were created. That such things have been and are, elsewhere, is but too well attested; and, if they must exist in Ireland, as the conditions of her material improvement, let us pray earnestly that she may live on in her poverty for ever! We should purchase that improvement at too dear a price, if it cost us the extinction of the moral life of our people.

But, there is no necessary connexion between successful industry and ignorance or vice. Labour, rightly governed, is the minister of intelligence, and the guardian of the holiness and purity of the soul of man. It was well said in the old time, "*Laborare est orare.*" To toil is to pray! The willing worker, doing his duty with all his strength, offers an acceptable homage to the Maker of the universe, and the blessing of well-ordered thoughts, and regulated morals, and peaceful happiness descends upon him, which is denied to the man who, having work to do—and who in this world has it not, according to his position?—refuses to do it, or to do it with an earnest heart. And, as it is thus with all honest labour, we have no reason to suppose that the manufacturing system, which is so wrought up with the very being of our modern society, and will act amongst us, whether we choose or no, cannot be managed, in its most

successful exercise, whatever may be its dangers, consistently with the health and virtue of a nation.

To capitalists and workmen universally, the pursuit of wealth in a commercial state brings peculiar evils to be avoided as well as peculiar advantages to be desired. The position of a man dealing with large transactions, communicating with distant countries, able to affect for good or ill the fate of crowds of his fellow-beings, may be the noblest in the world, if he will always remember that money-getting is not the single purpose which should absorb his soul, and act accordingly. There is no nobler man when he keeps his hand open, and his mind informed, and his heart enlarged by a wise benevolence; when he cultivates the amenities and graces, as he conscientiously performs the business of life, and makes his own prosperity doubly delightful to him, by generous and cordial care for those whose toil is necessary to its creation. But there is danger to the character of those who are engaged in business, especially in a country in which commerce is new, and quick in its development, and exacting in its claims on time and energy, if they will not cultivate themselves, and resist, in the strength of knowledge and the spirit of love, the hardening and contracting operation of the appetite for gain.

And the working man, also, must be aware of perils incident to his own condition. He must not let himself forget that he has in him something greater than his capacity to cast a shuttle or plane a tree—something "which was before the elements, and owes no homage to the sun." He must regard himself as gifted with faculties, which cannot be allowed to slumber, if he would fulfil the purpose of his being, and be entitled to the pure enjoyments of the intellect and the affections, of which Providence has given a monopoly to no class of men. He must be trained habitu-

ally to exercise those faculties, and possess himself of those enjoyments. His danger is, lest the needful drudgery of the day should make all effort distasteful to him in the hours that remain when it is over; lest he should waste those precious hours in idleness, which is never far from mischief, and prefer injurious excitements to that cultivation of his higher nature which would ennoble his position, and give him a happy home, and endow his children with intelligence and virtue.

Thus, for the capitalist and workman, there are dangers in the walks of industry, as there are dangers, dogging the footsteps of us all, in every path of life. But, although

> Our nature is subdued
> To what it works in, like the dyer's hand,

each must blame himself, if he succumb to the evil principle in the strife which it is the lot of humanity to wage, from the cradle to the grave. The employer may accumulate wealth, and refuse to be the slave of Mammon, and the operative's faithful service need not make him an unreasoning machine or a godless reprobate.

So far, our Irish experience has not taught us that the difficulty of reconciling successful manufacturing effort with physical comfort and purity of manners is insurmountable. In this northern district, where that effort has been most remarkable, and in other districts also, employers have been found who have understood and recognised their grave responsibilities. They have felt, that the human beings whom they collect for the advancement of their fortunes have a claim to their regard which is not fully discharged by the payment of wages from week to week; and they have striven to provide the means of cleanliness, and health, and moral progress for their working people. There are many men in Ireland, as there are in England, too, who deal with

the multitudes subjected to their influence, not with mere monetary justice, but with watchful solicitude and considerate kindness; and find themselves abundantly rewarded, not only in the confidence and attachment of the objects of their unstipulated bounty, and in the prospect of the happiness they have been enabled to bestow, but in the actual increase of their prosperity, which is secured by the co-operation of grateful and willing hearts. And why should we suppose that men like these, acting with the truest wisdom in their practical beneficence, may not be multiplied as our manufactures grow?

So far, also, the working-classes amongst us have not been infected, in any peculiar way, by the twin plagues of ignorance and vice. They have not ceased to value such information as is within their reach. They have other pleasures than those of brutalising intemperance and low debauchery. Your mills, which are thronged by thousands of every age and sex, are not cursed with the impurities which challenge God's vengeance in richer lands; and it is certain that, in your own town and neighbourhood, there is a singular integrity of morals amongst the people in those mills, and that multitudes of them sanctify their toil by habitual piety.

Why should not this happy state of things continue? Many of the industries, which are springing up through Ireland, are perfectly consistent with the moral and physical well-being of the people they employ. And for those who must engage in more dangerous occupations, we may fairly have reliance on the religious spirit which has never abandoned the hearts of Irishmen, on the intelligence they are acquiring, and on their innocence of life, which will find its best preservers in the maintenance of that spirit and the advancement of that intelligence. The supply of our great industrial deficiency ought not to involve the loss of any ad-

vantages which we already enjoy. We enter on our future career, with reasonable preparation in our actual condition of morals and intellect; and, though its difficulties must increase as we advance in it, we may trust much, for ourselves and those who may come after us, to the opportunities of national instruction, which are diffused amongst us more widely and more richly than at any former time. The children of the poorest can now command an education more various, more enlarged, and of greater practical utility, than could have been easily purchased by any class within the memory of us all. That education is brought to their doors, and almost forced on their acceptance; and all our experience of the past forbids us to imagine, that they will refuse to profit, to the very utmost, of its humanising and purifying influences. It is extending and improving year after year, and is capable of indefinite expansion. Already, it accompanies the young toiler to his workshop, and offers him sound information and effectual training in its schools of design. He is enabled to pursue his daily task, not as a cunningly-devised automaton, but with an intelligent apprehension of the principles of art, and an instructed aptitude in their practical development. He is taught to read and to reflect. He may become familiar with the beautiful in nature and the works of God, and appreciate the noblest creations of human genius and the most fruitful victories of human thought. Those who possess such great advantages, and must possess them, more and more, will be guarded against the evils of their state by the sense of self-respect which grows from intellectual culture, and the moral strength which lifts the educated man above the mean indulgences of appetite and passion. And thus, for the present and the future, we may not unreasonably trust, that Ireland's advancement in prosperity will not materialise or deprave her working people.

But it behoves us, though we indulge these grateful hopes, to understand the perils which certainly beset manufacturing industry, and encounter them as best we may. We cannot prevent the growth of that industry amongst us. We cannot if we would, and we should not if we could. But whilst we accept the advantages it affords, and rely on the influences of religion as our prime and essential safeguard in receiving them, we must endeavour, by virtuous example and kindly counsel—by promoting the spread of a wholesome literature, and encouraging habits of manly thought—by securing all fit appliances for the health and comfort of the general community—by sustaining and enlarging the means of popular instruction, and endeavouring, so far as may be possible, at once to elevate its character and connect it with the business of life—and by providing opportunities of healthful recreation and innocent enjoyment, which may avail the working man in his rare hours of repose, and train him to the love of simple pleasures, —thus, and by ways like these, we must endeavour, whilst we attain the blessings of that necessary industry, to avert the mischiefs which have sprung from it in other countries. "Forewarned, forearmed!" It is our business to profit by their sad experience; and it will be our folly and our shame, if we do not better their example.

I have run lightly over a large subject, and indicated some of the circumstances which seem to me to warrant better hope for Ireland than we could have reasonably indulged, at any former time. I would not deceive you with false expectations or vain promises. We have been long too prone to indulge in enthusiasm of feeling and extravagance of phrase; and, once and again, we have allowed ourselves to be deluded by prospects of improvement, as unsubstantial as the phantom islands which show their fairy beauty on our Northern waters, in the stillness of the summer evening,

and vanish like a dream. Our expectations may be disappointed, but, judging with the calmest reason, we may believe that our darkest hour is overpast, and feel ourselves stimulated to advance by the assurance that, at last, the course is fairly open before us. Dynasties have been exalted and destroyed—empires have risen and decayed—power and riches have passed from land to land, in continual alternations of victory and defeat, during the centuries which have seen Ireland always distracted, always weak, always miserable. For her only there was no redemption. To her only hope came not, that came to all. She had no place in the march of nations—no profit from the revolutions of the world. But, even for her, the day-spring has arisen, and she touches the opening of a great career. "All estates," says Sir Thomas Browne, "arise to their zenith and vertical points according to their predestinated periods; for the lives not only of men but of commonwealths, and the whole world, run not upon a helix which still enlargeth, but on a circle where, arriving to their meridian, they decline in obscurity, and fall under the horizon again." So far, this, the common lot, has not been ours in later ages. Our rising remains to be accomplished. The shadow of our obscurity has not passed away. But, looking around us and before us, we may rejoice in the hope, that we, too, approach the beginning of our "predestinated period." And, as we learn that there is more of equality in the conditions of individuals and communities than is at first apparent, when we consider the dealings of Providence with the entire life of the individual, and the many generations which make up the life of the community, we may have humble trust that, in its eternal counsels, there are reserved for Ireland a happiness which may counterbalance her heavy suffering, and a dignity proportionate to her deep humiliation.

The principle of compensation pervades the universe.

Pleasure finds its chastener in the pain which waits upon excess, and the luxuriance of prosperity is near akin to the rankness of decay. The dream of our poet may be a prophecy. The Pariah of the nations may take her place above those who for ages have held her in contempt; and countries, which are swollen with the pride of dominion and the exuberance of wealth, may be broken in the dust, when ours shall mount to greatness, and become, in her riches, as in her beauty and her virtue, what your own Drennan, who loved her well, proclaimed her, long ago,—

The Arch of the Ocean, the Queen of the West!

She has the natural freshness, and the unexhausted vigour, and the salient life of a young people, whilst she is permitted to enjoy the benefits of a matured civilisation, and boast herself "the heir of all the ages," the heir of their old experience and their hoarded wisdom. Of a country so gifted, and with such a future, let us think worthily, and act up to the measure of our thoughts. Let us refuse to despair of Ireland any longer; let us have faith in her rising fortune, and advance it with all our strength; let us acknowledge the wickedness of our mad dissensions; let us cherish the spirit of mutual love and trust; and appreciating the power of honest effort, and the nobleness of self-dependence, let us strive together—each in his own sphere, by work or word—to lift her from her low condition, and build on a solid foundation her new prosperity, in our successful industry, our pure morals, and our enlarged intelligence.

NOTE A.—Page 286.

The following summary of proceedings in the Encumbered Estates' Court, to the month of July, 1851, is of great general interest. I am indebted for it to Mr. Locke's very valuable work, "Ireland's Recovery":—

Gross amount of rentals of estates sold in Court by public action	£535,614 12 6	Gross rental.
By provincial auction, confirmed by the Commissioners	98,659 8 3	
By proposal accepted by the Commissioners (about)	95,000 0 0	
Total	£729,274 0 9	
	A. R. P.	
Number of Acres sold by public auction in Court	1,036,137 2 37	Acreage.
By provincial auction, confirmed by The Commissioners...	205,564 2 8	
By proposal accepted by the Commissioners (about)	450,000 0 0	
Total	1,691,702 1 5	

Summary of the amounts of the purchase-money realised by sales in the several provinces :—

Province of Leinster	£2,767,640	5 2
„ Ulster	2,173,202	9 8
„ Munster	3,270,287	19 11
„ Connaught	2,218,762	10 4
Total	£10,429,893	5 1

Classification of sales according to the amount of the purchase-money in individual cases :—

£1,000 and under.	£1,000 to £2,000	£2,000 to £5,000	£5,000, to £10,000	£10,000 to £20,000	£20,000 and upwards.	Total number of Purchasers.
1,789	929	868	463	134	30	4,213

No. of Properties purchased by English and Scotch Purchasers.	Number of Purchasers.	Provinces.	Acreage.	Purchase-money.
			A. R. P.	£ s. d.
32	35	Leinster,	43,484 3 10	330,165 0 0
24	15	Ulster,	51,866 0 36	324,517 0 0
71	75	Munster,	68,862 2 2	504,161 12 6
46	56	Connaught,	332,723 0 21	620,765 0 0
173	181	Total	496,936 2 29	1779,608 12 6

Classification of English and Scotch Purchasers according to the amount of the purchase-money in individual cases :—

£1,000 and under.	£1,000 to £2,000	£2,000 to £5,000	£5,000 to £10,000	£10,000 to £20,000	£20,000 and upwards.	Total numb'r of English and Scotch Purchasers.
31	38	45	30	17	20	181

Chancery estates sold, and how long they were severally in Chancery :—

Over 3 and under 5 years	219
„ 5 „ 10	364
„ 10 „ 15	167
„ 15 „ 20	89
„ 20 „ 25	46
„ 25 „ 30	31
„ 30 „ 35	22
„ 35 „ 40	17
„ 40 „ 45	6
„ 45 „ 50	4
„ 50 years	9
Total	974

NOTE B.—Page 304.

The comparative progress of Belfast, commercially, may be understood from reference to the increase of tonnage entering its port and that of Liverpool, respectively, for the last twenty and fifty years :—

During the last twenty years, the tonnage entering the Port of Liverpool increased—

From	1,590,461	tons, in	1833,
To	3,912,506	„ „	1852.

Or equal to about 145 per cent.

The tonnage entering Belfast, in 1833, was... ...	233,121	tons.
But, in 1851, it had increased to	650,938	„

Or equal to an increase of 180 per cent., or 35 per cent. more than Liverpool, during the last twenty years. Going back for fifty years, we find the following result :—

In 1801, the tonnage which entered Liverpool was ...	459,719	tons.
In 1852	3,912,506	„

Or equal to an increase of about eight and one-half fold.

In 1801, the tonnage which entered the Port of Belfast was	54,338	tons.
In 1851	630,938	„

Or equal to an increase of twelve-fold.

As to the growth of the population of Belfast, it appears that the first census was taken in 1757 (96 years ago). It then possessed 1,779 houses, containing 7,993 Protestants and 556 Roman Catholics. Total, 8,549. Of these, 1,800 were able to bear arms. The number of handlooms for weaving linen was 399. The present population of Belfast (1853) is about 110,000, including Ballymacarrett, or equal to an average increase of 1,057 persons per annum ; and the number of spindles employed in spining flax by machinery, as has been stated, exceeds 500,000 !

The position of Belfast as a commercial port in relation to other Irish towns, will be understood by a reference to the following table, compiled

by Braithwaite Pool, Esq., of a return of vessels registered at each port in Ireland, with the tonnage entered and cleared, in 1851 :—

	Vessels.	Tons.	Tonnage Entered and Cleared.
Belfast ...	462	74,770	1,089,096
Cork ...	422	51,702	681,152
Dublin ...	444	39,353	1,393,822
Limerick ...	101	12,291	154,591
Newry ...	148	9,568	171,268
Waterford ...	190	22,750	359,563
All other Ports	482	51,000	1,146,886

TRALEE ELECTION, 1863.

The Tralee Election, 1863.

[This Address was delivered on the Hustings at the close of the Election for Tralee, 1863.]

ELECTORS of Tralee,—I thank you for the great honour you have done me, in making me the representative of your ancient borough. I thank you, even more, for the manner in which you have bestowed that honour;—for the universal kindness, the generous confidence, the cordial enthusiasm which have met me, on every side, since I came amongst you. I am, comparatively, a stranger to you—and yet not quite a stranger. My voice has before been heard in this Court-house, for defence and for prosecution—for the subject and the Sovereign; and, on my visits to Tralee, I have ever had a friendly greeting and a hearty welcome. And I have now a closer connexion with your county, since a most dear relative of mine has come to govern, in the heart of its glorious mountains, a community devoted to God's holy service, in the education of the ignorant and the solace of the poor.

You have returned me for Tralee, in the teeth of an opposition of so strange a character, that this election will be memorable in the history of such contests; and with a facility and completeness of success which seem to me marvellous, when I consider the multiplied agencies successively arrayed against me. I have had three antagonists, and of

every one of them I shall speak with sincere respect: First, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, a personal friend of my own, a member of my own great profession, the scion of a noble house. Next, Captain Knox, a gentleman of high respectability, distinguished in arms and in literature, and the controller of an influential organ of Conservative opinion. And finally, Mr. Denny, representing the proprietor of your town, with all the strength which the great territorial possessions of his brother and his own continual residence amongst you may naturally supply. One after another, they have tried their fortune; and, one after another, they have been compelled to retire. A fourth candidate, claiming your voices as the heir of an Irish earldom, showed himself in the lists, but vanished almost as soon as he appeared; and I do not number him amongst my real adversaries. Towards all of them I have the kindliest feeling; but I should be untrue to you, and to the great principles of political morality, if I did not pronounce, in your name, the strongest condemnation of that monstrous and unnatural alliance which has vainly essayed to overbear your independent action. In this free land, there must be jarring opinions on public questions; and every man, who honestly asserts his own, is entitled to receive a fair and impartial hearing. We are bound to concede to our fellows the liberty of thought and action which we claim as our dearest privilege. The earnest Catholic and the honest Protestant, the stanch old Tory and the advanced Liberal, each is entitled to have his convictions respected by those who differ from him. Under our Constitution, there were, will always be, conflicting parties. They are a necessity and a blessing. They control the conduct and correct the errors of representatives and ministers; and forbid the unhealthy stagnation of public sentiment. But was it ever believed before that the professing advocates of Irish

rights and their bitter and outspoken adversaries—the extremest assertors of popular privilege and those who are utterly opposed to its least extension,—the Conservative and the Revolutionist, the Catholic and the Orangeman,—could range themselves under the same banner and utter a common war-cry? Yet that ominous and unheard-of conjunction has been exhibited in your town, throughout this contest. It is the birth of these latter times. It was unknown to our fathers. May it not be bequeathed as an evil inheritance to those who shall come after us!

Monstrum horrendum, ingens!

Its existence would be incredible, if you had not seen it flaunted, with frontless audacity, in the face of day. Since Monday last, your streets have continually echoed with harangues from men who on no one question, secular or sacred, have the slightest unity of thought,—combined for the single purpose of accomplishing, by any means, the defeat of a political adversary. The Lord Mayor of Dublin—the elect of the Conservatives of its Corporation*—brings with him to Tralee the eloquent editor of the *Nation*.† Captain Knox‡ is sustained by the fiery oratory of Father Lavelle. They have stood shoulder to shoulder, and uttered alternate appeals to the passions and the prejudices of the multitude, attempting to prevail by the wildest confusion of principles and the most reckless disregard of the recognised distinctions of party and of creed. Even if they had succeeded in defeating me, their triumph would have been a disaster to the cause of Toryism; for it would have been a triumph revolting to the moral sense and the manly spirit of all who value consistency of principle and integrity of

* The Hon. J. P. Vereker. † Mr. A. M. Sullivan.
‡ The late Captain Knox, then proprietor of the *Irish Times*.

political conduct. As it is, they have been routed from the field; and their discomfiture, whilst it will damage the Conservative party, will be hailed with rejoicing throughout the empire, as a formidable check to the political demoralisation which their success might have spread, like a pestilence, amongst our constituencies.

Personally, all the candidates have acted in the spirit of gentlemen, and I have to thank them all for great courtesy and consideration. Mr. Denny entered on the contest at a late period. He found that an overwhelming majority of the people gave me their warm support, and were resolute to abide by their promises, with a firmness which makes me deeply the debtor of all of them,—Catholic and Protestant, Conservative and Liberal,—for I numbered amongst my friends electors of very various opinions, who believed me capable of service to your borough and to Ireland. As an honourable man, he declined to seek success by attempting to coerce or cajole them to an abandonment of their spontaneous pledges; and when he found his position hopeless, he gave me prompt notice of his resolution to withdraw. I am confident that, great as his influence unquestionably is, I should have prevailed, even if he had been a candidate from the earliest moment; but I owe it to him to acknowledge, that his conduct was such as might have been anticipated from a gentleman of his character and position.

I am bound, however, to correct an erroneous statement, which appears in his retiring address of yesterday. There is no ground for the assertion that, before I came to Tralee, pledges had been made and votes promised to me. When I came, I believed that there was in the minds of the Electors a good feeling towards me; I believed that there were many of you ready to receive me, with trust in my honour and reliance on my truth. But when I arrived

on last Saturday night, no man was bound to me. I came to throw myself upon the people. I came to ask them whether my character and my life gave me no claim on an Irish constituency? I came, assured that I should, at least, command a fair and favourable hearing. And how was I received? How am I surrounded now? Look at those who are before you,—your wealthiest merchants, your leading professional men, the most influential and intelligent of every class of your community; and there, in his green old age, stands the distinguished man (James O'Connell) who worthily represents a name which must be undying whilst Ireland is a nation. He came from his distant home to meet me; he remained with me throughout the contest; if I had been his own dearest child, he could not have treated me with more untiring kindness; and, as he stood by me through every stage of the struggle, he is here to grace the victory by his venerable and noble presence. When I came here, I knew scarcely a human being in your town. I had never seen your good Vicar-General and Parish Priest* in all my life. On the day after my arrival, I was invited to meet him and the most influential members of the constituency at your Chamber of Commerce,—an institution which represents worthily the intelligence, integrity, and independence of your borough. Your foremost men received me; your Vicar-General received me; I was introduced by Mr. Henry Donovan, to whose stirring eloquence I owe so much to-day, and of whom I shall only say that, having known him for one little week, I understand and honour his clear, straightforward, and manly character, as if I had been his familiar friend through all my life. He introduced me to the Chamber of Commerce—I spoke to its assembled members—I

* The Very Rev. Dr. Mawe.

spoke to them, with plain and simple truthfulness, as to my position and my views of public things; and, when I had spoken, your Vicar-General rose up and proposed that I should be accepted as the future representative of Tralee. His proposal was received with unanimous acclamation; every gentleman in the room instantly pledged himself in writing to support me, and from that hour my election was secure. This brief explanation of the course of events I have been driven to offer by the misconception to which Mr. Denny's address may have given currency.

And now, a word about myself. I would fain avoid it; but attacks on my personal position, of the most various and inconsistent kinds, make it essential that I should defend it, and prove that you have not chosen an unworthy Representative. I have been resisted and assailed, not from any allegation that I am incapable or unfit to represent your borough; but because I hold, in Ireland, the place of first law officer of the Crown. My worst adversaries have been good enough to acknowledge that, if I were not Attorney-General, no Liberal or Catholic constituency in the country need hesitate to commit to me the high trust of guarding its public interests. And, without vanity or egotism, I may presume to say that the admission is reasonably justified, because I have been offered, from time to time, the spontaneous suffrages of many such constituencies. Before I attained the first place at the Bar of Ireland, I declined them all. I have not had much desire for a political career. I have been content to do my duty in the quiet walks of my profession; and I have not sought promotion through the avenue of Parliament. I have not desired your representation to advance my personal interests. Standing where I am, I do not promote those interests by entering the House of Commons; and I enter

it only because I can so best discharge the obligations, and utilise for public purposes the influence, of the office which I hold.

I do not come here to apologise for my possession of that office. I hold no terms with the preposterous doctrine, that a Catholic Irishman, faithful to his Church and true to his country, is to ostracise himself, and decline a position of dignity and power which he may have won by honest effort and fair capacity. I am not unknown to Ireland. For many a long year, my name has been familiar to her people; and they have judged me not unworthy of much confidence and much affection. I have never feared to avow my principles; I have never shrunk from the endeavour to advance them. To men of my own religion, who have mainly urged this argument against me, it is thoroughly known, that no year, for twenty which are gone, has passed without some public service of mine to those with whom, in race and sentiment, I am proud to be identified;—that there is no district, through the wide realm of Ireland, in which prelates, and priests, and laymen will not be found to testify to such service, rendered with cordial and unpurchased zeal, whenever it could avail for a good purpose. I belonged to a circuit which used to be designated, *par excellence*, the Protestant Circuit of Ireland. I fought my way to its foremost ranks; necessarily, almost exclusively, sustained by those who had no sympathy with my religious convictions, and carrying with me, I believe, their respect and kindly feeling. On my relations with them, my professional progress has mainly depended; and what I have done for my own people, I have done from no hope of profit or wish to advance myself.

When the Attorney-Generalship was offered to me by those who knew well the course of my life and the principles I had ever asserted, it was offered without

solicitation, and accepted without qualification or condition—without change of that course or compromise of those principles.

For many generations, the just complaint of the Catholics of Ireland has been, that, in their own land, they have been without influence; that they have been excluded from positions of trust and power; that they have been a subject people, ruled by a sectarian ascendency; that, in all offices of importance—in the administration of public affairs, in the magistracy, and in the courts of justice,—they have found themselves excluded from the advantages possessed by their fellow-subjects; that they have been forbidden the enjoyment of the means of social advancement, and fit opportunities for the protection of their dearest interests. Well, thank God! The times have changed. A great constitutional struggle—one of the most remarkable in the history of the world, conducted to a triumphant issue by a man of matchless intrepidity and eloquence—has thrown open to them the portals of the Constitution, and enabled them to compete, on equal terms, with their countrymen of other denominations. And is it to be said that they are, of their own accord, to forge again the fetters which were broken by O'Connell? Are they voluntarily to re-assume the yoke which the Legislature has taken from their necks? Are they practically to re-enact the code of exclusion against themselves, return voluntarily to the enslavement from which they have escaped, after centuries of struggle and sacrifice, and decline every opportunity of establishing, in action, that social and religious equality which the law, at last, permits them to achieve? I, at least, shall never be a party to a policy so insanely suicidal. I shall never agree to abandon the vantage-ground we have so hardly gained, or to aid the Catholic people, by any act of mine, in placing themselves once more, with incredible fatuity, beneath the

heel of an iron domination from which they have been legally enfranchised. I do not believe that, in any other nation, a policy so plainly destructive to its highest interests would be advocated or adopted by any man pretending to the possession of public spirit or common sense. Therefore, when office was offered to me, I felt it a duty, not to myself only, but to the community to which I belong, to accept it; and I did accept it, as I have said, without abandonment of an opinion or compromise of a principle.

I am before you now, as I was when I laboured to organise the Catholic Bar against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and received the unanimous thanks of the Catholic Hierarchy; or when I drafted the declaration of the Catholics of Ireland against the assault upon our Conventual Institutions, and aided, to the best of my power, in the effort by which that assault was successfully repelled; or when, on very numerous occasions, I strove, as best I could, professionally and otherwise, to secure justice and protection for the Catholic priesthood and the Catholic people.

I have been assailed by the marvellous combination to which I have adverted, and its supporters in the press, because I have taken office under the existing Government; not as adopting the policy of all its members, or approving, in any measure, many of the words which have been uttered by some of them;—but because, between the great parties in the State, which alternately and necessarily assume authority I prefer, beyond all comparison, a Liberal to a Tory administration. On questions of foreign policy there is not any substantial difference between them. Both are guided by the opinion of the majority of the House of Commons, and neither could endure for a week if that opinion were defied. But the attempt which

has been made to identify me with sentiments of hostility to the Holy See, whether they are those of the Conservative Minister who proclaimed the Pope's dominions "the plague-spot of Italy," or by a Minister on the other side, is utterly unjustifiable. I am a Catholic, from the fullest conviction of my understanding—with the sincerest devotion of my heart. I venerate the Holy Father as the supreme pastor of the Catholic Church, who is at once the chief of the oldest monarchy of Christendom, and the spiritual ruler of two hundred millions of men; and I shall never be a party to outrage on his august person, or abridgment of his perfect independence. I especially venerate the existing Pontiff, who is endowed with the loftiest virtue and the gentlest spirit of Christian benevolence—who demonstrated his willingness to advance the freedom of his people, until the spirit of revolution answered his favours with gross ingratitude—whom all men, of all religions, approach with reverence and leave with loving admiration. I do not hold myself bound, in any way, to adopt any expressions in his regard, which are not most affectionate and respectful; and I repel the imputation which would fix on me responsibility for their utterance.

But, looking to Ireland, the land of my birth, my affections, and my hopes; feeling that I am, like yourselves, in blood and spirit,

Kindly Irish of the Irish;

and feeling, too, that whilst we should girdle the world with our sympathies, the simplest instincts of our nature and the most cultivated reason combine to teach us, that our own country should be the object of our dearest care,—I ask myself, what public course her interests dictate to those who seek her welfare? And whilst I see that, as to affairs abroad, there is much identity in the views of English

statesmen, I note a difference of the completest kind as to their policy at home. The difference is this, that, under a Liberal ministry, those who accord in sentiment and feeling with the mass of the Irish people have a fair chance of obtaining power to serve them; whilst a Tory government, from the very necessity of the case,—from its traditions, its connexions, and the obligations implied in its existence,—cannot if it would, and would not if it could, afford to that people such an arrangement of affairs as can give them any ground for confidence or attachment. Twice within twelve years the Conservatives have had the rule of Ireland; and ask yourselves, how many Roman Catholics were admitted to a position of trust or influence under either of their administrations? The practical development of the principle of the Relief Act—the promotion of social and religious equality—may be expected from the Liberal party. All experience, and all the circumstances of the country, make it hopeless that, under the Tories, such a development can take place. I shall not enter into a detailed argument on this great question; but I have said so much to show that, in my judgment, for Irishmen and Irish interests, there is abundant reason to determine—as between the possible rulers of the Empire—against those who have never abandoned the principle of exclusion; never repudiated the system of ascendency; never conceded to the Irish people the privilege of a reasonable share in the control of their tribunals, the administration of justice, or the management of the institutions which most affect their social well-being.

Need I tell you this, in a Court-house which still seems to resound with the indignant shouts of the freeholders of Kerry, when they met, in their strength, and gave its death-blow to the Derby administration,—because from the jury-box before you, on a political trial, its officers had

driven away every Catholic gentleman,—although the men who were so insulted and outraged were amongst the worthiest and the wealthiest, the most intelligent, the most virtuous, and the most upright in the land? Is all this forgotten? Can those who, for the past week, have raved against the rational friends of liberty and Ireland, and fawned, like spaniels, on a party which despises and abhors, but condescends to use, them—can they induce the country to forget that latest illustration of the unchanged spirit of Tory rule?

Or if, indeed, the memory of wrong be as fleeting as, with some amongst us, appears to be the memory of benefit and the gratitude which that memory should breed, and if the lapse of three short years have obliterated from the mind of Ireland the story of the trial of Daniel Sullivan, at least there is at this moment in action before her eyes a proceeding in the House of Commons, which—if anything could check the phrenetic folly of a small section of noisy people, who again invite Toryism to come and crush themselves and their country,—ought surely to have that wholesome influence. In the prisons of England there are multitudes of Roman Catholic convicts—very many of them poor Irishmen and Irishwomen—who have fallen from the ways of virtue, but have not lost the faith of the Church. As the law stands, the priesthood are practically excluded from the English gaols, and their Catholic inmates are left without spiritual consolation or moral guidance—without the chance of reformation through their punishment—with the certainty, that it will only harden their hearts, and make them more abandoned reprobates, and more dangerous enemies of society, when they come forth from the cells in which religion might have guided them to penitence and peace, and prepared them to become useful and law-respecting citizens. That this might be

accomplished, the Home Secretary,* a man of large heart and noble nature, introduced a Bill into the House of Commons, making some provision for the free access of Roman Catholic clergymen to Roman Catholic prisoners. One would have thought it impossible, at this time of day, to imagine opposition to such a measure—a moderate and guarded measure—from any man of any religion, having any regard to the dictates of humanity, the charity of the Gospel or the manifest necessities of our social state. Yet that measure has been virulently opposed, opposed *à outrance*, by a powerful party, including many good men, whose better reason has been clouded by their deep hatred of Catholicism; and, though some leading members of that party have had the wisdom and the manliness to separate themselves from the vast majority, the representatives of Irish Orangeism are banded to defeat the efforts of the minister who ventures to offer to the Catholic prisoner the comfort and salvation, here and hereafter, which he might find in the spiritual counsels and sacramental rites of the priesthood of his faith. And yet, in the face of this astounding fact, Catholics are to be found, and you have seen them intrude themselves amongst you, who tell you that the Catholic voters of Tralee should return to Parliament those who are identified in feeling, in thought, and in open and bold profession, with the party which so tramples on principles most dear to you; in preference to a man whose true allegiance to those principles even they do not dare to question, and to a Government which is threatened with defeat because it has ventured to propose a measure of charity and mercy, on behalf of the helpless and friendless Catholic criminal.

On my own part, I repel and denounce the doctrine of

* Then Sir George Grey.

these men and their abettors; and you have given it the most emphatic condemnation, in making me, to-day, your representative. I have taken office—I have taken it under the Government which is so resisted and assailed, and in opposition to the parties so banded against me; and you have declared in electing me—and your judgment will be of weight and power with the Irish people—that I should have foregone my duty, not so much to myself as to those whose public interests are dear to me, and who have given me their regard, if I had declined to take it on such grounds as are urged with a virulent acerbity only equalled by their insensate folly; and prevented, perhaps for a generation, the promotion of one other Catholic to the place of usefulness and honour which I have occupied, and shall continue to occupy, with honest impartiality, for the benefit of all my countrymen.

You do not approve of all the acts of the existing Administration, or adopt the principles of all the statesmen who compose it; but you know that we are living in a "work-day world," and not in the dreamland of Utopia. You do not desire, that Irishmen should exclude themselves from Irish offices, until they can establish a Government perfect beyond exception, realising all their expectations, and satisfying all their hopes; and, in making a choice between those who hold power and those who desire to hold it, you do not forget, that some of the Ministers who have become unpopular with many of our countrymen, from occurrences of latter days, were our true friends when friends were needed most, fought out the battle of Religious Freedom in the face of all discouragement, and remained for many a year in opposition, repelled by the Court and distrusted by the people of England because they were bent on achieving our Emancipation. Neither are you unmindful that those Ministers have colleagues—

such men as the Duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Cardwell, and Sir Roundell Palmer, who—acting in a wise and courageous spirit, which has guided them in many things besides—at the peril of their political existence, breasted the tide of British prejudice and passion during the discussion of the Titles Bill, and maintained against it, with the Catholics of Ireland and England, a struggle which, though unsuccessful, was not inglorious or without great practical results. Nor do you forget that you owe to them a Viceroy who has nobly associated an illustrious name with the history of our country, by devoting to her service, through his long public life, his genial heart and accomplished intellect. You do not forget these things—I do not forget them. We cannot allow a bitter feeling of the hour to sponge out from our memories all the sacrifices and services of the years that are gone; and with the men to whom we owe those services and sacrifices I choose to act, rather than with their adversaries, who have no claim upon our gratitude for the past or title to our confidence in the future.

I am Attorney-General, and, save in the assumption of that high office, I am as I have ever been. I have never wavered in devotion to my principles, or shrunk from avowing them; and it is a mean and poor conception, that, for the emoluments of office or the possession of authority, I could forget my honour or palter with my conscience. If any man dares to make the imputation, I answer by pointing to the conduct of a life, which has not been idle or hidden from my countrymen. It is too late for me to alter that conduct, for any consideration which the earth can give me. The shadow of a great sorrow has not fallen upon my heart, without making me very careless of the aims of mere worldly ambition; and I am not likely now —I trust I never have been—for any worldly benefit, to

take any course which honour does not dictate and conscience thoroughly approve. What I have been, I am; what I am, I shall be—a Catholic Liberal—an Irishman, not ashamed of his country, or slow to serve her, according to the measure of his power. I hold the opinions enunciated, the other day,* by a great Frenchman, the Count de Montalembert; and his profession of faith, religious and political, is mine. I take his words, and adopt them as my own:—"I desire to serve the cause of liberty as distinguished from revolution, and the cause of Catholicism as distinguished from despotism and intolerance—religious liberty, sincere and equal for all, without privileges either for or against Catholicism—political liberty, defended against the encroachments of government, but also defended against the immoral violence and the abject servility of false democracy—liberty and authority, both kept within the bounds of justice and truth—the faith which respects honesty of belief and inviolability of conscience—in a word, a 'free church in a free nation.'" This is the sum of the doctrine which I have cherished since my boyhood; to which I shall cling as long as my life endures.

In the spirit of this doctrine, and to assert it on your behalf, and on my own, and on behalf of all my countrymen—for I go to Parliament as the representative of all, and not as the delegate of any—I shall mould my public course. I do not boast of any special power to serve you; but what may belong to me I shall honestly exert. I shall do what I can for the material and moral benefit of the country which I love. I shall strive to enforce the right of all the people, Protestant and Catholic, to equality before the law; and if I have not capacity to secure it, the will and the effort, at least, shall not be wanting.

* At the Catholic Congress of Malines.

Since I became Attorney-General, I venture to believe that I have not been, in my official action, unfaithful to the principles which I would willingly carry out, in a wider and loftier sphere. I have had very serious duties to discharge. I have had to grapple with turbulent Orangeism in the North, and agrarian outrage in the South; and everywhere, without respect of persons, I have striven to administer the law, with absolute impartiality and intrepid firmness. In the North, notwithstanding a storm of factious fury which raged for months around me, I have not shrunk from enforcing the penalties provided by the Legislature against all men of all denominations who disturb public order, and insult their fellow-subjects; and the result has been, that the insignia of party almost ceased to desecrate the temples of religion, and unwonted peace prevailed, at the latest anniversaries. In the South, I have had to encounter and to punish red-handed murder; and, though I and my colleagues have been obliged personally to conduct, within a twelvemonth, more capital prosecutions than have taxed the energies of law officers for very many years; and though in all those cases, save one, convictions were accomplished, no man has ventured to allege that, in any of them, the power of the Executive was overstrained, or the machinery supplied by our Constitution for the suppression of crime perverted, unwarrantably, for the purpose of securing them. I trust I have succeeded in demonstrating that justice loses nothing of its efficiency because it is fairly and impartially administered.

One other word, on a matter which has been made the subject of accusation against me. They say that witches read prayers backwards; and the act of my official career, which I should most have expected to secure to me some public trust and gratitude, has been tortured into a topic of assault. I am a Commissioner of National Educa-

tion, and I am charged before the Catholic people with the high crime of reconstructing the National Board. I am proud to have had a share in administering an institution which, though it is not perfect—though it is capable of much improvement, in many ways—though as, in some degree, a compromise between conflicting parties in this distracted land, it is necessarily open to animadversion and discussion—yet seems to me, who have watched its working with conscientious and anxious care, to be, on the whole, in its practical results, the greatest boon and blessing which, since Emancipation, was ever conferred on Ireland by the Imperial Government. But I am doubly proud of having been permitted to assist, even in the humblest way, in the reconstruction of that institution, for the purpose of securing at once its full efficiency, its thoroughly impartial action and the public confidence in its administration which efficiency and impartiality command. Directing the education of hundreds of thousands of Irish children, the vast majority of whom are Catholics, the Board, when I first was honoured with a seat at it, had a small minority of Catholic Commissioners. A wise and able statesman * came to Ireland—a man of the clearest judgment and the most perfect honesty—a man who, though a stranger here, had capacity to devise and courage to execute a great measure of justice to the Irish nation. He proposed, amongst other changes, that there should be equality between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics on the Board of Education; and he gave to the Protestants ten Commissioners, and to the Catholics as many, selecting for the office the wisest, the truest, and the most trusted men of the respective Churches. I had an humble part in carrying out that arrangement;—it should

* Mr., now Viscount, Cardwell.

secure to Mr. Cardwell the gratitude of the country which was favoured, for a time, with his impartial rule;—and, yet, because I aided him to the utmost of my poor capacity, you have been told that I am unworthy to be your representative.

I glory in the crime imputed to me. I base upon it my highest claim to any confidence or favour which may be due to me, as an Irishman. I challenge for it, especially, the generous recognition of the Catholic people, who are, especially because of it, required to deny to me their trust. In my judgment, it has been the noblest assertion of the principle of social equality between Irishmen,—for ever established by the Act of Emancipation—which has been made, since that great charter of Irish rights was ceded to Irish energy and Irish virtue, organised by the Irish Liberator, and sustained and encouraged by the Liberals of England against the fierce resistance of the Tory party, whom Irish Catholics are now invoked to aid in the re-establishment of their old ascendency. It has secured, beyond all doubt or controversy, the perfect fairness of the administration of the Board. It has made the mischief of proselytism on the one side or the other an impossibility; and gives perfect warrant of fair play and honest dealing to every class and creed. Admirable in its conception, its working is as admirable; and the whole course of events, since the change occurred, has made clearer the wisdom and the worth of Mr. Cardwell's bold and generous policy.

I have been forced to speak of these things. I have spoken of them with much reluctance, because they touch myself; and self-eulogy, or the appearance of it, is to me most painful. But I have been assailed virulently in speeches and in newspapers; and I was bound to show you, in grateful acknowledgment of the great favour you have

bestowed upon me, that I do not dishonour the choice which you have made.

And I have not thought it needless or unbecoming, in necessary defence of my own public character against the attacks of extreme politicians on either side, to speak out fearlessly the opinions which I have always entertained; which are the opinions of the old and tried friends of Civil and Religious Liberty; which I know to be cherished by multitudes of the true and good amongst us, although they have lately found a most imperfect utterance; and which I believe to be entirely in harmony with sound reason, true patriotism and the real interests of Ireland.

I have detained you, too long, in the discussion of general topics—one word, before I conclude, as to yourselves. You have bestowed on me the very highest distinction to which a citizen can aspire under a free, constitutional government; and it behoves me to prove my appreciation of the gift, by advancing your welfare according to my ability. I have said, that I go to Parliament as a representative, and not as a delegate;—with a free mind and an unfettered conscience;—subject to the ordinary reticences and restraints of official position; but claiming, as a counterbalance, the benefits to be gained from official influence, fairly directed to useful ends. I shall do what I can on public questions for the national interests; but I shall feel it my duty and my pleasure, also, to devote myself to the promotion of the prosperity of the constituency to which I owe so much. Since I came amongst you, I have learned that there are several local matters in which the people of Tralee, of every class and creed, take a very deep interest; I have obtained, as to all of them, such information as I could command; I shall make it my business to extend and complete that information, through

the kindness of my friends around me, and then strive to employ it for your best advantage.

The condition and management of your canal—the prevention of the floods which often afflict your town, producing great public inconvenience, and doing serious damage to property and health—the claims of your savings-bank depositors—the state of your postal arrangements—these and other subjects have been suggested to me as demanding prompt and careful attention, and that attention I shall bestow upon them. Of course, I can promise nothing as to results: I am not master of them. I do not wield the powers of the Prime Minister or the Chancellor of the Exchequer; I do not control the Exchequer Loan Commissioners or the Board of Works. I know that efforts have been already made, by men of high position and great influence, and made abortively, as to every one of the grievances which I would endeavour to redress. But I do not despair. I came amongst you, as Attorney-General—I go from you, as Member for Tralee. And whatever can be accomplished by the exercise of such capacity and experience as I possess, backed by the power you have committed to my hands, and guided by an honest purpose to labour earnestly in your service, I shall endeavour to achieve. Man proposes; God disposes. I shall do my best for you; and if I fail, the failure shall not come from want of faithful effort.

And now, farewell! For the great honour you have done me, again I thank you from my heart.

LEGAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND SOCIAL REFORMS IN IRELAND.

Legal, Educational, and Social Reforms in Ireland.

[The Presidential Address delivered at the opening of the Social Science Congress in Dublin, in 1881.]

IN the year 1861, the Fifth Congress of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science was held in this metropolis. It was a pleasant and a prosperous meeting. There was much of genial hospitality and kindly intercourse during its continuance; and the business of the Congress was conducted by very distinguished persons. The place I have now the honour to hold was occupied by one who gave it lustre by his high ability, his singular endowments, and his life-long services in the cause of legal and political reform and human liberty. Lord Brougham was then in a ripe old age; and he was well sustained by the great French economist, Michel Chevalier, by Sir John Shaw Lefevre, who was one of the wisest and worthiest men I have ever known, and by my late lamented friend, Chief Justice Whiteside. They have passed away. Their eminent associates —Judge Longfield, Baron Holtzendorff, Sir Joseph Napier, and others—still, happily, survive. I had the good fortune to act along with them; and I scarcely remember a week spent with a more grateful combination of intellectual profit and social enjoyment. I am reminded of it by some of the old familiar faces which then became known to me, and are now before me; and I recur to the recollection, that I may

express my confident hope of a repetition of the success which was at that time achieved; and offer to the Congress, on behalf of my countrymen, the same warm and cordial welcome which greeted its coming, "twenty golden years ago."

Usage casts upon me the honourable but onerous duty of addressing some observations to this great assembly. I call it onerous, remembering the long line of remarkable men—which includes, with Lord Brougham, Lord Russell, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Carnarvon, Lord Dufferin, the present Bishop of Manchester, and many more—who have been your Presidents, and have exhausted all the forms of speech which could be enriched by their high culture and wide experience. I feel that anything I can say, in poor succession to them, must "come tardy off." But at least I shall endeavour, avoiding the ambition of originality, and foregoing the opportunity for eloquence, to speak of matters which I may be supposed to understand, as I have had practically much to do with very many of them; and which may have something of novelty and interest, as they pertain to Ireland, and regard exclusively questions, within the domain of social science, which bear on her condition and affect her future.

It seems to me that your President should scarcely intrude on the sphere of those who will direct the proceedings of special sections, by taking a particular subject, and exhausting upon it ingenuity or erudition. Neither do I think that I can profitably range through the endless diversities of human affairs with which your inquiries are conversant, and attempt to indicate all the aids which your Association has given to the progress of those inquiries, and all the successes which have encouraged its efforts for the amendment of the Law and useful economic change. Those aids have been effective, and those successes have

been great. For a quarter of a century, labouring, not at your Congresses only, but at frequent meetings, in every month, in London, your active members have watched the progress of legislation, ascertaining and arranging facts on questions of current interest, formulating Parliamentary enactments, urging the appointment of Parliamentary committees, and circulating reports for the guidance of opinion, in Parliament and out of it, which have had a very appreciable and a very salutary influence. At my desire, your efficient secretary has furnished me with a record of the work of the Association since it was established in 1856; and the continuous energy and unslumbering activity which that record demonstrates, during the long interval, in promoting measures of public utility—many of which have obtained the sanction of the Legislature—have been most meritorious and most honourable to the institution.

It has been of especial value in keeping up a perpetual protest against abuses in law and procedure, which, though of serious mischief, did not rouse popular feeling or attract popular resistance; and in making effectual claim to necessary improvements, which were not easily capable of general appreciation, or attractive of earnest support from ordinary politicians. The Patent Law, the Law of Copyright, the System of Public Prosecution, the Digest and Codification of the Statutes, the Law of Evidence, Prison Discipline, the Government and Administration of Public Schools, the Improvement of Public Health, the Promotion of Temperance by wise arrangements as to the Licensing System and the regulation of the Liquor Traffic, Trade Unions and Strikes, the Protection of Life and Property at Sea, these and a host of kindred matters have received laborious attention from your Society, since the moment of its birth; and it has done good service in them all, without idle ostentation or pretentious publicity.

As was long the fortune of its predecessor, the British Association for the Advancement of Science, it has been made, more or less, the object of abuse and ridicule, by persons having no sympathy with its purposes or capacity to judge its work. And, no doubt, every such Association, which permits public discussion of controverted questions, must sometimes tolerate empty talkers and conceited sciolists, whose weakness or folly may give occasion for sneering to those who delight, with reason or without, "to sit in the chair of the scorner." But, in spite of all their drawbacks, such discussions tend to awaken thought and educate opinion. It is well that people should meet together, and look each other in the face, and test the value of their respective views, even at the cost of listening sometimes to words which neither amuse nor edify.

The result is valuable, if prejudice is dispelled and toleration of honest difference promoted; and if, whilst men appraise at their true value exact science and investigation of the wonders and the beauties by which the material universe attests the power and goodness of the Creator, they are led to value also inquiries which affect the order, the comfort, and the happiness of human life, and are pursued, with fruitful interest, by those who believe that

The proper study of mankind is man.

Estimating thus the aims and the methods of your Association, I have resolved, instead of surveying the wide field of its multifarious labours, to undertake an humbler task, and to speak to you only of the legal and social reforms which have been accomplished in Ireland since you were last assembled here. I deem it fitting that your Congresses should be utilised by something of local inquiry and local

information about the communities to which they are successively invited. In very many of those communities, and, certainly, in Dublin, they have been the authors of local improvements. Ireland, and her peculiar condition, are not too well understood in other countries; and some of you may be pleased to learn what she has striven to do, and what she has achieved, in your own sphere of action, from the date of our former meeting. I shall not trouble you with elaborate statistics or lengthened disquisition, but content myself, as I have said, with a simple indication of a series of beneficial changes, which, to the people of this island, have been reasonably subjects of congratulation.

I shall point to those changes as they connect themselves with the several departments of the business of the Congress.

And, first, as to those amendments of the Law which were the exclusive object of that Society from which your larger Association had its origin. Soon after 1861, a strong Commission, having upon it the most eminent persons at the Bar and on the Bench in Ireland and England—"The English and Irish Law and Chancery Commission,"—after many sittings in Dublin and in London, produced an excellent report as to the constitution of our legal tribunals. It led to practical results of an important kind. Ultimately the many and marked differences which, in 1861, separated the English system from the Irish, were substantially done away; and that assimilation of practice and procedure which, for manifest reasons, is so desirable between systems of Judicature, identical in their sources and their principles, was happily accomplished. I do not say that further serious alterations may not be necessary in the judicial machinery which has been so assimilated, and may be still further assimilated with advantage; but prac-

tical improvements have been undoubtedly achieved, which give to our central administration of justice a harmony and an efficiency unknown to it before.

I cannot pause to indicate many of the details of those improvements. But I may briefly say that, in the constitution of the Appellate Court of Ireland, and the substitution of continuous action by two tribunals sitting permanently, save in vacation and when the Judges are on circuit, for the old trials at Nisi Prius after Term, the greatest benefit has been conferred upon the public. When the Barons at Runnymede gave their famous promise, "*Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, nulli differemus, rectum vel justitiam,*"—of the three great undertakings—not to sell, or to deny, or to delay justice—the last was not the least momentous. For generations, the judiciary of these countries have been happily free from the suspicion of corruption. No man imputes to them a design to make commodity of their office, by refusing his rights to any suitor, or trafficking on their exalted trust. But "the law's delay" has never ceased to be the subject of complaint, since Shakespeare numbered it amongst the intolerable tortures of humanity; and any change which diminishes its mischief must be hailed as a blessing by a civilised people.

The Appellate Court is open to complaining litigants in every inferior tribunal, from that of the County Judge to that of the Lord Chief Justice; and its despatch of business is free from the obstructions and embarrassments which were too effective for evil in the days of the Court of Error. The Consolidated Nisi Prius Court gives quick and full relief; and its value is demonstrated by the fact, that the mere facility of approach to it has increased its business remarkably—so that 215 cases tried by its Judges in 1878 became 266 in 1879, and 300 in 1880.

So much for the High Court of Justice, of which I can

speak no more. But equal or greater advance has been made in the jurisdiction and arrangements of our County Courts. They were an old institution in Ireland, and furnished the precedent for the County Courts of England. So far back as 1796, the office of Assistant Barrister was created, and his Court, with continually-extending civil jurisdiction, became one of great importance to the people. It was oddly constituted, being a court of law for the plaintiff, and a court of equity for the defendant. For a long time, this had been found inconsistent with the effective administration of the law. In very many cases, poor men, or men of moderate means, were unable to assert plain equitable rights, from incapacity to sue in the Court of Chancery. Through the earnest intervention of my distinguished predecessor in the Court of Chancery (Dr. Ball), the evil was rectified. The County Judge has now a jurisdiction in equity, and, to a great extent, it is utilised by the suitors of his tribunal. The local Judges in England possessed it for twelve years before it was given to their Irish brethren. But it is already employed more largely here. In 1880, the Irish cases were 616, as compared with 125 in the same extent of English population, and the matters in dispute amounted in value to £59,996 in Ireland, whilst, in an equal extent of English population, they were only £17,560 in amount.

The benefit to the poorer country has been very great indeed.

In many other ways, the County Courts—a highly-popular branch of our judicial establishment—have had their jurisdiction extended, and been made more effective. And equally in their action and in that of the High Court, we need not be ashamed of Irish progress.

But I must pass to another topic. In the year 1861, the Lunacy Laws of Ireland were almost in the condition in

which they had remained after the abolition of the Court of Wards, save as to the establishment of District Asylums for the poor, the inspection of Lunatic Asylums generally, and the rules for the regulation of admission and release.

The actual treatment of this unhappy class of our fellow-beings had been greatly changed for the better from the time, within living memory, when they were dealt with not as patients to be cured, or even as prisoners to be guarded, but as caged beasts, to be tormented at the will of sordid physicians or brutal keepers. Towards the close of the last century, Pinel, in France, and Tuke, in England, exposed the horrors of Bicêtre, York, and Bethlem, and awakened the public conscience to a sense of the cruelty and crime which pervaded lunatic establishments, public and private, without restraint or punishment. But the evil did not promptly find a sufficient remedy.

It was only in 1815 that a Committee of the House of Commons, making an authoritative pronouncement against still existing iniquities, compelled protective legislation in several measures which were, more or less, of service. At last, in 1853, the Lunacy Regulation Act was passed, and for England, accomplished great and beneficial changes. But when your Congress met in Dublin seven years afterwards, that Act had not been extended to Ireland, and the protection given to our lunatics continued very inadequate indeed. In cases under the control of the Court of Chancery, there was no sufficient provision for the care even of those possessed of ample means, by proper visitation and report; and none for the discovery of persons kept privately in duress, and subjected to ill-treatment. No lunatic could be brought under the protection of the Court, without the great cost and painful exposure of a Commission. And whilst such a state of things was evil

in relation to the rich, sufferers of small fortune could not receive even that protection.

All this has been happily altered since 1861. Ten years afterwards, the Irish Lunacy Regulation Act embodied all the useful provisions of the English statute, and added many which have been found most salutary. There is now no necessity for a Commission in the vast majority of cases, which are plain and simple, or unless the alleged lunatic be of mental capacity to demand an inquiry, or lives beyond the jurisdiction. The most careful investigation is instituted, and the fullest notice given, in every case; and, for the past five years, only one Commission has been demanded, and only one actually sped from the absence of the lunatic.

The Act, thus cheap in its administration, and sparing, as far as possible, annoyance or pain to relatives,—whilst it is rigidly guarded against abuse, and has never, in a single case, been assailed for any improper or incautious application of its powers,—has been of large and increasing utility. In 1871, the number of returns furnished to the Lunacy Office from the Committees of Estates was 97, and, in 1880, it had risen to 194; whilst, in 1871, the reports from medical visitors had been 103, and, in 1880, they had increased to 364.

This Statute, although successful in its operation, could not reach a large class of persons in poor circumstances, and, for their protection, a further Act was passed in 1880, enabling the friends of an alleged lunatic to obtain from the County Court Judge, at very little expense, a declaration of lunacy, with a scheme for the management of his person and his property; and also to secure for him the advantages of medical visitation and stated reports on his condition and treatment. A similar Act was passed for Scotland in the same Session (the Judicial Factors'

Act), and in this needful reform Ireland and Scotland are both in advance of England.

This will complete the necessary protection of persons to whom the public asylums are not available, from their possession of pecuniary means; but I lament to say, that beyond the Court of Chancery, and the County Court, and the County Asylum, there are multitudes of unhappy creatures—people of weak and disordered minds—who go at large through the country without any legal care. They are numbered by hundreds and thousands. Years ago, it was calculated that there were 8,151 imbeciles and idiots in Ireland—of whom 1,740 were in work-houses, 638 in asylums, and 5,733 utterly neglected. The lapse of time has not lessened the number; and, although various efforts have been made in the Legislature to do something for these wretched sufferers, they still remain wandering about in their unregarded misery. This sad condition of things does not properly come within the scope of an address, which aims to state achievements and not failures in the way of well-doing; but I have felt it impossible to part from the subject of lunacy law without expressing my strong and earnest feeling, as I have often expressed it in a higher place, against the scandalous indifference with which so many of God's afflicted children have been treated by the Legislature and the country. I trust that the day is near when such a reproach will be taken away from us; and there has been good preparation for the removal of it, in a lucid and careful report made by a very able Commission, which was appointed by the late Government, and dealt with the subject largely.

Whilst considering the legal changes which have affected Ireland since 1861, I cannot fail to refer to one of the most important of them all—the Reform of the Jury System. I observe that the subject is to be mooted in one of your

sections, and I do not desire to forestal, in any way, its discussion there. But I shall note shortly, as of some interest, the circumstances under which that Reform was introduced, and the objects of it. A Parliamentary Committee, in 1852, had strongly recommended a change in the existing law, in two particulars. It advised, first, that there should be a rating qualification for jurors, and, next, that means should be adopted "to secure strict impartiality in the construction of the jury panel." Before 1871, nothing had been done upon this recommendation. The old leasehold qualification had almost ceased to exist, and there was no substitute. The evidence was strong that the jury system had broken down, as well from want of qualified jurors as from the conduct of officials. The necessity of change was manifest and imperative; and that necessity and the difficulty of it were equally demonstrated by nine successive Bills which were prepared, year after year, for the House of Commons, by nine successive law officers, for the purpose of making it. They were all, from various causes, utterly abortive. In 1871, the necessity continued, with aggravation; and I introduced, in the House of Lords, the Bill which was accepted by the Legislature.

Proceeding on the two recommendations of the Committee of 1852, it prescribed a rating qualification, and aimed to secure "strict impartiality" by rendering the Sheriff's packing of a jury impossible. It was sent down to the Commons after the fullest opportunity for deliberation, and after it had been circulated throughout Ireland for a considerable time. No single objection was made in Parliament or by the Press to any of its provisions, and it was amended in the Lower House only by the reduction of the amount of qualification it had fixed. It passed, apparently, with universal assent.

Afterwards, a great outcry was raised against it. By some it was assailed because it took away from the Sheriff the power of selection. That power had been a very formidable one. He could array the panel just as, for any purpose, good or bad, he desired to settle it. There was no check upon him. He could eliminate altogether the jurors not friendly to a cause he favoured; or he could rank them so low in the list as to make it impossible that they should be called, and to render their attendance an idle mockery. The arrangement of the jury, if he was disposed to arrange it, proclaimed a foregone conclusion, and the game of justice, as was said by a great advocate, in a famous case, could be played "with loaded dice,"—the stakes, I add, being the lives and liberties of men. And the person clothed with power to do these things was not the High Sheriff, who rarely interfered with his deputy, but a man who, trustworthy though he might be in the majority of cases, might also be, in many, without character, as he was without responsibility. The Act of 1871 was designed strictly to carry out the recommendations of 1852. It took away the possibility of any malversation of the Sheriff, by depriving him of his power of arbitrary choice; and, for the first time since the introduction of English law to Ireland, gave the people an absolute assurance that, for no purposes and in no circumstances, should a Sheriff in the exercise of his official privileges, thereafter select a jury to perpetrate injustice.

It threw open the jury-box to multitudes who had suffered perpetual exclusion; and offered them the chance of that moral and political training which has been of such profit to the English race, from their continual opportunities of taking a public and responsible part in the administration of justice. And, of course, it brought a crowd of comparatively humble people into a position they

had never occupied before. The higher class of jurors shrank from association with those of lower station; and there were, inevitably, exhibitions of ignorance and awkwardness in the performance of duties with which the new men were unfamiliar, but which a little experience would have enabled them to discharge efficiently.

Circumstances have been greatly unfavourable to the working of the new panels. The waves of popular passion which have gone over Ireland would have strained any system, whatever might have been its form or substance; and many of the failures of justice, which have unfortunately occurred, have been caused by the abnormal and unexampled influences with which we have had to contend. This has been brought out very clearly by the evidence before the Juries Committee, which has declared that, in its opinion, the two principles of the Act, the qualification by rating and the condemnation of selection, under any circumstances, are just and wise, and ought to be maintained.

Proof was given before that Committee that the new jurors were gradually acquiring a knowledge of their business, and an aptitude for the doing of it, when the excitement of the time, in certain districts, interrupted the course of their improvement, and induced decisions and failures of decision which admit of no defence. But it would be very unreasonable to form an adverse judgment as to the permanent action of a just principle, because, from a passing disturbance of the general mind, its application may have produced a temporary mischief.

It is not within my province to discuss the suggestions which have been made, for legislative consideration, to meet existing evils. The rating qualification is elastic, and its application may be modified according to circumstances. But the one lasting good, designed and accomplished by

the Act of 1871, was the abolition of Jury Packing, and that good, I rejoice to believe, the solemn finding of the Lords' Committee will secure for ever.

The Report has just been printed, and, on a subject of such extreme importance, I shall not trespass much upon your time by reading to you the few sentences in which it pronounces the unanimous judgment of the Peers. They express it thus:—

"We have received evidence from a considerable number of witnesses connected with different parts of Ireland, and holding professional or official positions which afford them opportunities of forming an opinion, on the general expediency of the new departure involved by the Act of 1871. To the principles upon which that Act was based the judgment of these witnesses is, as a rule, decidedly favourable.

"The evidence which we have taken leaves no doubt (*i.*) that the qualification required by the Act of 1833 (3 & 4 Will. IV., c. 91), which remained in force till 1871, had become virtually obsolete, and that, owing to the scarcity of qualified jurors, the sheriffs, in order to obtain a jury panel, were in some instances actually driven to empannel persons not legally qualified; and (*ii.*) that the right of selection by the sheriff, though probably not often abused, had created a general impression that it was possible to pack the juries, and consequently had led to a wide-spread suspicion with regard to their impartiality.

"Even those witnesses who are least favourable to the new system are ont prepared to recommend a return to the old, in so far as it permitted the selection of the jurors by the sheriffs. We share this opinion, and believe that, in order to maintain public confidence, it is absolutely necessary that the selection of jurors should depend upon a fixed system of rotation, and not upon the discretion of any public official.

"We believe, further, that whatever modifications may be possible in the law dealing with the qualification for service on the jury, that qualification must, as a general rule, be founded, as at present, upon the rating of the person qualified."

And in another portion of the Report the Committee make this statement as to the causes of the existing state of things, indicating that neither the principles of the measure, nor the application of those principles, should be held responsible for it:—

"The evidence which we have received forces upon us the conclusion, that in a large part of Ireland no improvement in the composition of the jury, consistent with the principles upon which we conceive trial by jury to be founded, is likely to remove or materially to palliate the unfortunate condition of things which now obtains."

I pass from the history of legal reforms in Ireland, which I might much extend, if time allowed me, to that of the progress of her educational institutions. Their improvement has been enormous, within the period to which I am confining your attention.

And, first, as to Primary Education. The National Board has existed for nearly half a century. It was the greatest act of the late Lord Derby's life, to have founded it with the purpose of uniting separate religious and combined secular instruction. By the mass of the Irish people, it was received with gratitude and satisfaction, as a happy contrast to the sectarian and exclusive systems which preceded it. It was — as matters educational seem to be throughout the world, — the subject of very bitter controversy. Many missed with regret, in its theory of comprehension, the ideal which would have given them secular teaching, not separated from, but interpenetrated with, religious knowledge. And the hostility of various Churches was sometimes excited by compromises inconsistent with the admission of their conflicting claims. The strife was long and earnest. But between opposing forces, sometimes neutralising each other and sometimes sustaining, by their adverse action, the common object of attack, the Board continued to do its work, and gradually to earn attachment from its adversaries. In 1861, the war still raged unpleasantly; although the wisdom taught by experience to the Commissioners, and the recognition of their fair purposes and impartial administration, were gaining them adherents on every side. Since that time, the de-

velopment of the system has been continuous as it has been vast. Just demands have been conceded—hostile pretensions have been reconciled—difficulties have been surmounted, in many ways. And although some improvements remain to be accomplished, the institution has spread its beneficent influence, everywhere, from the centre of the island to the sea, has multiplied its schools by thousands and its pupils by tens of thousands, and widely commands the confidence of the People.

I do not, in this place, dream of discussing the disputes of the past, or the prospects of the future, but notwithstanding my unwillingness to trouble you with dry statistics, I cannot refrain from giving a few figures which tell a marvellous tale of twenty years' endeavour and success.

In 1860, the schools of the Board were 5,632; in 1880, they were 7,590; in 1860, the pupils on its rolls were 804,000; in 1880, they were 1,083,020; in 1860, the children in average attendance were 262,823; in 1880, they were 468,557; and the Parliamentary grant which, in 1860, was £284,468, was, in 1880, £722,366.

These figures exhibit the information obtained in 1861 as to 1860; and the information obtained in 1881 as to 1880. They need no comment; and are, in themselves, happily demonstrative of a great increase in the means of primary public instruction and the number of those availing themselves of it; notwithstanding that, in the meantime, there has been no corresponding advance in the amount of the population of Ireland. The apparatus of teaching has been ample and effective. The State has been very generous; and the classes for whose benefit it has lavished its subventions, have proved their appreciation of the benefit bestowed, by availing themselves of it, in ever-increasing numbers.

As I have intimated, notwithstanding the efficiency of the system, according to its principle, and the great prosperity it has achieved, it is capable of still further expansion, and still enlarged utility. There are questions—as to the training of teachers, the improvement of school attendance, and others—which press for immediate solution; but they may best be relegated to your special section of Education, which has the great advantage of the presidency of the eminent and accomplished Resident Commissioner, Sir Patrick Keenan.

Whilst primary instruction was thus spread broadcast through the toiling millions, the education of the Middle Classes had fallen into a poor condition, as was clearly pointed out in the elaborate report of the Endowed Schools Commission of 1858. Those who could use the aid of the National Schools employed it to admirable purpose and with conspicuous success. They did so by seeking the lower posts in the public service. But of higher places they had no chance, as there was scant provision for their further progress. At the taking of the Census in 1871, it appeared that there was of the Catholic population of Ireland 1 in 923 learning Latin, and of the Protestant population, 1 in 259; whilst, of the Catholics, 1 in 1,209 was learning Greek, and of the Protestants, 1 in 398. The opportunities for Intermediate Education—between the Primary School and the University—were quite insufficient, and they were made so, very much, by the action of the National Board, which extinguished multitudes of schools affording to the general community the means of some classical and scientific instruction. Such schools were once common in Ireland; but when State education, good and cheap, and, it might be, gratuitous, came into competition with them, they sank and perished. The result was, as the Census Commissioners declared, that the intellect of

the country was "starved and dwarfed"; and we were threatened with a condition of things, full of inconvenience and fraught with danger, in which the poorer classes of the community might outrun the wealthier, and hold a lower social place whilst they could boast superiority in mental acquirement.

Happily, all this has been changed. In 1878, my noble and learned friend, Lord Cairns, in an admirable address to the House of Lords, introduced the Intermediate Education Bill for Ireland, which was carried through Parliament without opposition, and received in this country with enthusiastic thankfulness. I have never known a measure of any kind which attracted such unanimous approval from all classes and denominations of the Irish People.

In my judgment, it has been found most worthy of that approval. It has stirred the country with a new intellectual life; and, equally for the educators and the educated, it has supplied a wholesome incitement to intellectual effort. The standard of teaching has been raised. The emulation of the masters has given new activity and efficiency to the schools. Obsolete methods and obsolete works have been abandoned; and the struggle for pre-eminence has developed scholastic capacities and administrative powers, which no one imagined to exist amongst the teachers of Ireland.

How the novel system has roused the spirit of Irish boys and girls, and how their parents appreciate its advantages, is best proved by the number of those who have given notice of their purpose to be examined in 1879, 1880, and 1881 respectively. In 1879, such notice was given by 3,671 boys and 797 girls, in all 4,268 persons. In 1880, 4,493 boys and 1,477 girls, making in all 6,126, gave notice; whilst, in the present year, it has been given by 5,714 boys and 2,033 girls, in all 7,747!

Are not these numbers of singular interest and significance? Do they not show that the eagerness for knowledge and the facility of acquiring it which, under the most adverse circumstances, have characterised the Irish People, through all chances and changes, still belong to them? So far, the result has not disappointed the expectation which was justified by their antecedents, and there is no reason to believe that they will not be able to utilise, in a higher sphere, the endowments which the Intermediate Education Act invites them to attain, as they have employed effectively those for which, in a lower, they have been indebted to the National Board.

The system is yet in its infancy; and the wonder seems to be, that it has grown to its great proportions with so much rapidity and so few miscarriages. The reports of its examiners present strong evidence of careful instruction and sound acquirement; and it is quite within the competence of the Commissioners, as it is their earnest wish, to make the mental work which they encourage and reward of solid and substantial value.

Thus, the Primary and the Intermediate Education of Ireland were happily cared for. There remained a difficulty as to a National University. Our existing collegiate institutions were, in many respects, admirable. Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges possess Fellows and Professors of thorough competency for their duties, of consummate ability and great accomplishments, who would do honour to any seat of learning in the world. But, for reasons—the nature and validity of which it is not needful, in this place, to consider—the advantages offered by them to their students were not available to very many who desired the training of a University; and for a lengthened period, at least for the lifetime of a generation, effort after effort has been made to procure the means of satisfying the aspirations of persons

so denied it, on conditions they might feel themselves conscientiously free to accept. Those efforts, unhappily, were without result, and a great public want remained to be supplied. At last, in the establishment of the Royal University, that want has been practically acknowledged and dealt with by the Legislature. It is not yet in action, and of course we cannot yet forecast its future. The Statute which gave it being has left its constitution to be shaped and fashioned by its Senate, under the supervision of the Crown. But, for myself, I am full of hope that it will fulfil its high purpose, and bless Ireland with a completed system of satisfactory instruction. Its endowment is not large, but sufficient for a beginning; and, if it does its work faithfully and well, further provision will not be wanting to aid in its expansion and increase its efficiency. It recognises the rights of conscience, and is free from offence to the keenest religious susceptibility. Its Senate is representative in the truest sense; and the perfect harmony which has marked the deliberations of so many men of the most varied views—equally as to things sacred and secular — has been auspicious of good to its own prospects, and also to the country whose youth it is destined to guide not only to the sources of knowledge, but also, I devoutly hope, in the cultivation of mutual confidence and kindness.

It is formed very much on the plan of the London University; and there is no reason why it should not emulate the efficiency and the usefulness of that successful institution. I fully understand the grounds of the preference which many of us may entertain for residentiary training. But all that is desirable cannot be at once achieved. Perhaps, the special purpose of Parliament in seeking to combine students of various creeds and classes on terms safe, equal, and impartial for them all, could not, at

least in the first instance, have been carried out so well in any other way; and, at all events, it behoves us to make the most of the opportunity which is given to us in the present, without abandoning the hope of better things hereafter.

Thus, since the former meeting of the Congress, the great work of National Education, which then had been only begun, has been so far advanced that the way of progress, from the primary elements of knowledge to its largest and last developments, has been opened to all the people. The humblest in rank may reach the highest place in intellectual, and so, in social station; and the country will find its best enrichment in utilising the mental power which has heretofore been unproductive. The boy who is distinguished in the country school will be encouraged to compete at the Intermediate Examinations. Obtaining his exhibition there, he may pass with honour to the University: and, if the capacity be in him, he will have the means of taking his place with the foremost of his age. For the first time, such chances are given to all the youth of Ireland. For the first time, we have assurance that their ability will have a fair and full career.

I shall not trouble you by any reference to questions which have been mooted as to the probable working of the Intermediate Board and the Royal University. The time is not ripe for the discussion of them; and it will be wise and becoming to await a little longer the teaching of experience.

But this audience, especially the fairer portion of it, will not blame me if I allude to and defend one especial characteristic of the higher education which those institutions offer to Ireland. Both of them afford the same opportunities of progress—the same incitements to mental culture, and the same rewards for intellectual merit—to

women as to men. The prizes, the exhibitions, the degrees, which stimulate the Irish boy's ambition, are placed within the reach of the Irish girl; and she has already given abundant proof, as I have shown, of readiness to avail herself of the novel advantage.

I regard this great concession with unmixed pleasure and sanguine anticipation of its social usefulness. But I know that others take a different view, and carp at the change as a dangerous experiment. At all times, there have been many who desired to keep woman in the position of a doll to be dandled, or a drudge to be worked, or a machine to be used for the profit or the pleasure of a master. We have been familiar with sneers at "blue stockings," and "books in petticoats," and with ungracious caricatures of learned ladies, as necessarily exhibiting offensive conceit or dogmatic coarseness. But "the lions have been the painters"; and the pictures have been fashioned to please men, perhaps unwilling to be matched with their sisters or their wives, in pursuits in which they have painfully suspected that they might not always hold a clear supremacy.

Need I argue in excuse of an educational equality as just and beneficial as it has been made inevitable by the course of human progress?

One of the highest achievements of Christianity, in the amelioration of the world, was accomplished by the elevation of woman from her debased condition. In its divine dispensation, she took her proper place, as a responsible and immortal being; and if the capacities bestowed upon her are to have full development, should we not help it in the largest and most liberal way? I do not pause upon the idle controversy as to the comparative power of the male and female intellect. They are very diverse in their qualities; each gifted with those which suit the sphere

appointed for its exercise; each excellent in its own degree and kind; and neither to be ranked in disparaging contrast to the other. But of woman's intellectual power can the contemporaries of Maria Edgeworth and Elizabeth Browning and George Eliot and Mary Somerville be capable of doubting; or of its worthiness to be aided by the best appliances for its ripening growth and healthful activity, which are employed to inform and strengthen the intellect of man? She has to discharge the highest duties of humanity in her relations with her home; and will she discharge them less efficiently if a mind, well furnished and wisely disciplined, lifting her above the debilitating atmosphere of frivolity and folly, makes her a true helpmate to her husband, and fits her to form the character of her children,—putting far from them the temptations of indolence and vice, and equipping them, with high principle, pure morals, and sound culture, to bear themselves nobly in the world?

Her possession of abundant knowledge need not derogate, in the smallest measure, from the grace and tenderness which are amongst the dearest characteristics of her sex; nor will her enlarged intelligence disqualify her for the wise and orderly government of a family. Some of us have seen with delight, and remember with enduring gratitude, the combination of sense and information, of clear judgment and firm will, with perfect gentleness and loving care for all about them, in wives and mothers worthy to be ranked with the "valiant woman" of Holy Writ, the heart of whose husband trusted in her, and whose children arose and called her blessed; who opened her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue was the law of kindness. Her kindness was not less kind because it was associated with her wisdom; and her husband did not cherish her with less attachment because that wisdom made her worthy of his trust.

Some seem to think that knowledge must unsex the woman, and lead her to intrude on the proper business of the man. But surely it is not so. Their provinces are separate. Nature has marked the line between them, and it should never be overpassed—*Non omnia possumus omnes!* There are vocations which physical and mental constitution and the necessity of things assign to each respectively, and the woman's influence is never so great and true as when she confines herself to those which properly belong to her. The offer to her of instruction in the whole range of science and letters, on a complete equality with man, does not involve or imply approval of the application of that instruction to any purposes which the conditions and ends of her existence should not permit her to pursue. Fulfilling those conditions and aiming at those ends, she may have full occupation for all her powers, without impairing the high instincts, the delicate susceptibilities, and the sacred affections which make her own happiness and purify and bless her household. She may realise in her daily life the picture of Wordsworth, with which you are familiar—and all the more, the higher is her culture :—

> The reason firm, the temperate will,
> Endurance, foresight, strength, and skill!
> A perfect woman nobly plann'd
> To warn, to comfort, and command.
> And yet a spirit, still and bright,
> With something of an angel light.

In connexion with the subject of Education, I ought to observe that, whilst Reformatories had been brought into operation in Ireland in 1858, we had no Industrial Schools in 1861, or for many years afterwards, although they had before been established in England and Scotland. In 1868, the Industrial Schools Act was introduced for Ireland by

the O'Conor Don, and carried through Parliament, with considerable modifications. It has since been worked, under the able and humane superintendence of Sir John Lentaigne, with excellent effect. There were fifty-six schools in operation on the 31st December, 1880, and on that day there were in those schools,—Boys, 2,404; girls, 3,295; in all 5,699. There was an increase of 365 boys and 222 girls on the previous year.

Thousands of children have been thus saved from corruption and crime, and trained to become useful citizens. It was a strange anomaly, in 1861, that whilst the criminal child was cared for, fed, lodged, and instructed, the homeless vagrant, who had done no wrong, was allowed to perish in ignorance and destitution. I cannot occupy time in describing the details of the administration which has made the Irish Statute a real boon and blessing to the country. But I trust that those of my auditors who have not seen the school at Artane will pay it a visit. There is not in the empire an institution of the sort more admirably managed; and it will sufficiently indicate the methods which have been pursued in Ireland, and the advantages which have been secured for so many unfriended children.

The Irish Industrial Schools Act, although aiming at the same objects, and generally containing the same provisions, as that which was long before framed for England, is not, unfortunately, identical with it in some respects. Thus, whilst in England the guardians of the poor can transfer children to industrial schools, and provide for their maintenance, no such power has been given to Irish Guardians. The result is disastrous here. The pauper child must continue in the demoralising atmosphere of the workhouse, until he becomes unfit for any of the proper uses of human life. He is in the hands of adult paupers, whose character and example offer no fit model for imitation. He does not

receive the discipline or the teaching which might give him the hope of a prosperous manhood; and he is liable to that induration of the heart which has been observed to belong to young persons brought up as paupers "whom nobody owns,"—in gloomy isolation, and untouched by the kindly affections of family life. Certainly, there is no ground for this distinction between the Statutes in England and Ireland. Nor is there any for another, which casts on the managers of our industrial schools the burthen of purchasing land and erecting buildings without the relief which is afforded, in Scotland and England, by the authority entrusted to public bodies, for the erection and maintenance of such schools at the general expense. It seems strange that the poorer country should bear the heavier burthen.

Nearly £200,000 have been expended by Irish managers out of their own resources, or from the charitable contributions of the public, in procuring sites and completing houses, and the pressure upon them must have been very great.

I do not see any reason for maintaining a different rule in the two countries, and I trust that the distinction may be speedily done away.

I do not advert to the Irish Convict System, which has had such excellent results, or to our Irish Reformatories, as both had existence before 1861, and do not, therefore, come within the plan of my address. I spoke of them largely at our last Congress in Dublin; and I shall only call attention to a new experiment in connexion with them, which is now in progress.

In the year 1880, 84 boys and 12 girls, under twelve years of age, were committed to Reformatory schools in Ireland, after having been imprisoned in gaols for fourteen days and upwards. The effect of such imprisonment, on children so young, has been found to be contaminating

and injurious; and, for the purpose of preventing this ill result, a probationary industrial school has been certified by the Chief Secretary, at Kilmore, in the county of Dublin, for juvenile offenders under twelve years of age, who will be transferred, on reaching that age, to industrial schools, or may, after eighteen months, be placed in the homes of their relatives, if willing and qualified to receive them with advantage.

I have never been able to appreciate or approve the reasons for the rule which interposes the prison, with all its evil influences, between the Court of Justice and the Reformatory School. I am very glad that the experiment I have described has been undertaken; and I trust that it may issue in a larger change of reformatory discipline. I mention it here, though somewhat out of place, because I believe that it will be of interest to many who have laboured for the redemption of criminal children; and that it is of importance as testing the value of the questionable practice to which I have referred.

Another great improvement, accomplished since 1861, was in some sense attributable to the Congress of that year. All that I have said, and much more, as to the mischief of their residence in workhouses, was urged at its meetings, in favour of boarding-out orphan and deserted children, who were then pining in those establishments, maintained and educated there, and without provision for any other dwelling. For a quarter of a century, after the enactment of the Irish Poor Law, they had so remained; undergoing, in many places, a miserable process of moral and physical deterioration—often exposed to the pollution of vice—and always liable, as I have said, to be made hard and selfish, from the want of any natural culture of the affections. They dragged through their young lives without hope or comfort, and left their prison-houses, in too many cases, onl

to become absorbed amongst the most incorrigible of the criminal classes.

Earnest appeals were made at your Congress against this state of things. Excursions were planned to visit the homes of children boarded out in the county of Dublin, and their better and happier state attracted great attention. In the result, the Boarding-out Act of 1862 was passed, not without difficulty; and although the limitation to the age of thirteen, and the restrictions enforced on our Guardians of the Poor, which are more stringent than those of the English Poor Law, lessen its advantages, it has conferred enormous benefits on many thousand little ones, who enjoy health and happiness in the open country, are trained to honest toil, and ultimately take their proper places as useful members of a community, to which, if they had not been rescued from the workhouse, they would have proved a burthen and a curse.

I pass on to tell you what has been done, since 1861, in a department not less important than any other within the range of your inquiries—the department of Public Health. In that year, Ireland had, as its chief sanitary authorities, expiring Parish Vestries, clothed with antiquated powers, which had been vested in them so far back as the year 1818. There were some other bodies established for similar purposes, under statutes which had once had equal application to England and Ireland, but had continued in action here after they were repealed in England. Five years after the meeting of the Congress, in 1866, the Vestries were finally abolished, and the Guardians of the Poor were entrusted with sanitary powers identical with those existing in England and Wales. The change was great and wholesome; and was pushed to better issues when the Local Government Board was created in 1872. It was armed with large authority, and acted with energy and success.

A Statute of 1874 developed the sanitary system, and brought it into full operation throughout the country.

Under that Act, the whole of Ireland was divided into Sanitary Districts, called Urban Sanitary Districts and Rural Sanitary Districts. The Urban Districts consist of towns having a population exceeding 6,000. The governing body of the town is made the sanitary authority. The rural districts consist of the Poor Law Unions, and the Boards of Guardians are the sanitary authorities. There are now 56 Urban Sanitary Districts and 163 Rural Sanitary Districts; and in each of those districts a complete sanitary staff has been organised, under the orders of the Local Government Board. The Medical Officer of the Dispensary District is, in all cases, the sanitary officer or medical officer of health. The principal duty of the sanitary authorities and their officers consists in the inspection of their districts, and in taking all necessary steps to compel the removal or abatement of nuisances, provide a proper supply of water, and construct, or cause to be constructed, where it may be necessary, proper sewers and drains.

The Public Health Act of 1878 repealed all previous Sanitary Acts, re-enacting, amending, and consolidating their provisions, so as to comprise in one Statute the entire Sanitary Law as it at present exists in Ireland.

The scope of the statute is comprehensive, and the machinery for effectuating its beneficial purposes is complete. I rejoice to say that its worth has been widely recognised, and the increasing activity of the local authorities is demonstrated in the most conclusive way, by the amount of their expenditure for the last six years, as it appears in the audited accounts of the Board.

It is not easy to over-estimate the importance to Ireland of the work which is thus proved to have been done.

It has been of double advantage, by relieving the poor at seasons of sore distress, and securing the permanent improvement of the health of the community.

Again, I think I may confidently say, that, in a department so deeply affecting the comfort and the happiness of a people, Ireland need not be ashamed of the progress she is making and has made.

And, for her, that progress is especially important. Health and social morals run closely together. Cleanliness and godliness are in alliance; and wholesome and commodious dwellings are important instruments of civilisation. The squalidness of his home drives the artisan for light and solace to the public-house. The mud cabin, with its single room and crowded foulness, is not very compatible with the formation of habits of ordered industry; and, save in a country still marvellously pure, its inmates would be subjected to many dangers. It is of great consequence, for reasons like these, which might be largely multiplied, that our sanitary work should extend, not merely to lodging-houses, but, as far as may be, to the dwellings, generally, of the humbler classes; and that the English effort in that direction which has been so happily prosecuted under the benevolent guidance of Lord Shaftesbury should have wide and cordial imitation here.

I do not desire to take credit to your Association which it may not fairly claim; but you will permit me to mention, in illustration of the topic I have last considered, a not unpleasant reminiscence of 1861, of which record is made in the biography of one of our philanthropic citizens. In the autumn of that year, Mr. Senior and Mr. James Haughton resolved to give some practical application to wise suggestions which had been made as to the utility of ornamental gardening in public parks, such as beautifies those of London, at the expense of the Imperial taxes.

They prepared a memorial to the Executive. It was received with favour; and the People's Garden rose into existence—at once a boon to multitudes who enjoy its beauty, and a worthy monument to the genial and accomplished Viceroy—a true lover of the country he delighted to make his home—whose statue continues to adorn it.

And, touching thus on a local theme in connexion with Public Health, I may be permitted to allude to the great undertaking by which, to the lasting honour of the man who conceived it and completed it, in spite of misconception and resistance, this city receives an abundant supply of pure water, secured by a vast but most profitable expenditure, which amounts, I am informed, up to the present time, to £530,000. Nor should I forget to mention, in the same connexion, the gratitude which is due to a munificent nobleman, who has lavishly employed his fortune in rendering one of the finest squares in Europe a place of joyous resort to his fellow-citizens.

I can only make the briefest allusion to a measure most worthy of attention in the Department to which I am referring—the Irish Sunday Closing Act. It was hotly contested and violently denounced; but it has succeeded beyond expectation; and its moralising influence in removing, even partially, the withering curse of national intemperance, has made it a practical reform of a high order. I cannot dwell on the mode of its operation; but the results are indicated in the most conclusive way by the unanswerable evidence of our criminal statistics. In 1878, when it was in action for a few months, the number of punishable cases of drunkenness was reduced by 3,000, as compared with the year 1877. In 1879, when it was in full force, the reduction was 11,000, and last year it was 22,000—the number of offences, which, in 1877, was 110,000, having fallen to 88,048. It is not wonderful that success so signal, proved

by these figures and in many other ways, should already have induced wise and good men to imitate the example of Ireland in other districts of the Empire, with the sanction and by the authority of the Legislature. And does it not give us fair ground for hope, that the undoubted and most salutary improvement in the drinking customs of the wealthier classes may be gradually extended to the multitudes beneath them; and that we may be emancipated, more and more, from the cruel dominion of a vice which is to us the perennial source of crime and misery, and degrades these kingdoms in the estimation of the world?

It would be impossible for me, after such a merciless exhaustion of your patience, by the presentment of so many subjects within the limits of a single address, to dwell upon the topics in connexion with Irish progress which would properly range themselves within your departments of Economy and Art. They press for attention which I cannot give to them. But, touching only the *summa fastigia rerum*, I would not leave imperfect my inadequate enumeration of things accomplished within twenty years by omitting mention of the most memorable of them all—the Act which recognised the principle of Religious Equality, and the Land Reforms of 1870 and 1881—transcending, for the Irish people, in the greatness of their conception and the magnitude of their results, any legislative measures of the century.

They need no further reference; but the Congress may recognise, as a matter of special and present interest, that a movement has begun for the promotion of Irish Manufactures. This was essential to us. Exclusive reliance on their agricultural resources by the vast majority of our people has been the cause of stagnation in their national life, and continually-recurring penury and suffering. The composite blood of mixed races tends to their mental and physical

supremacy; and mixed industries are needful to a community which aims to be prosperous, especially if it is at the mercy of an uncertain climate. Ireland needs manufacturing success to save her from the calamities entailed by varying seasons, and secure her proper station in the world. She has ample capacity to attain it, and only needs the will and a knowledge of the way. It is, therefore, in the last degree satisfactory to find that all her classes, of all religious and political denominations, are emulating each other in a great endeavour to supply this cardinal necessity. We must wish it God speed! But whilst we do so, and help it as we can, we should remember that similar attempts have been made in other times, and issued in disappointing and disastrous failure. And we should learn from the sad experience to avoid the errors which have baffled hope and effort like our own. Much patience and perseverance are needed to build up the broken fortunes of a nation. Enthusiasm exhausts itself. The violation of economic laws is surely followed by disaster. And if we would succeed in this needful undertaking, we must not forget that, in the long run, the best article will command the highest price; and that to hold our ground, in the open competition which tests conflicting powers, we must apply ourselves to the industries specially suited to Ireland, and likely to be most profitable here; and become possessed of industrial habits and industrial aptitudes fitting us to meet our neighbours in an honourable rivalry, in which for them, as for us, there will be "a fair field and no favour." The value of organisation is great. The ardour of preparation is encouraging. Exhibitions and councils, and committees and subscription lists, are of value, as they fix attention on the ample and undeveloped resources of the island; awaken to honest effort, and confirm well-founded expectation; inspire us with self-reliance and self-respect; and so lead on to the

promotion of a sound industrial system, approving itself to mankind by the worth of its productions. If this be achieved, we shall redeem the failures of the past; if it be not, we shall only repeat them. But we need not fail. In far worse times, our forefathers were proving their fitness for industrial eminence, when an unworthy intolerance of their prosperity forbade its continuance and increase. It has never fully rallied. But the hour has come for its revival. The blow which destroyed it cannot be repeated. In happier circumstances, it will have free scope for the largest expansion, and if it do not flourish, the blame will be our own.

> The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
> But in ourselves, that we are underlings!

Only a word as to our relation with the department you have lately added to your Programme. The conditions of life in Ireland have not been, for many a century, consistent with the successful culture of the Fine Arts. They could not flourish in times, too much prolonged, of turmoil and misery and social chaos. We boast an ancient civilisation, which distinguished our island when darkness brooded on the world,—connecting the learning of famous seminaries, to which multitudes flocked from other nations, with excellence in art, still evidenced by the venerable ruins of our churches, and by remnants of rare workmanship in the precious metals and the sculptured crosses and rich illuminations of early Christian times, which have survived ages of strife and suffering, and are still to be inspected in our Irish Academy and Trinity College. We are proud of their attestation to the old endowments of a country which, in later days, has vindicated its claim to artistic eminence by the works of Barry, and Maclise, and Hogan, and Foley, and others who are gone;

and of living men who inherit their genius, and will emulate their fame.

We have been placed at a serious disadvantage. The poverty of Ireland has not permitted a large patronage of art, and those who have been distinguished in any of its branches have found irresistible attraction and abundant reward in the English metropolis. But I am glad to be able to say that here, also, we have been making substantial advances. We have never, in later days, had such appliances and helps for the rising artist as we now possess.

Our National Gallery, under wise and conscientious supervision, continually undergoing fresh development, need not shrink from comparison with similar institutions of the Continent. Its contents are very choice in their character, and very comprehensive in the range of their subjects. A Science and Art Museum has been established with every prospect of giving, in a short time, effective encouragement to art-studies as applied to manufactures. Our Hibernian Academy was never so prosperous and so well endowed. Its visitors are increasing annually by many thousands, and, notwithstanding the hardness of the times, the purchasers of pictures become, year by year, more numerous and more liberal in their expenditure. I allude to these things only that I may not omit all reference to our successful action in connexion with one of the most interesting of your Departments; but I do not desire to intrude on the province of my noble friend, who will preside in it, and more fittingly explain the nature and extent of the improvements to which I have lightly pointed.

I have completed the task I proposed to myself, in a manner inevitably unsatisfactory and imperfect. I could not recount transactions ranging through twenty years, in the time prescribed to me, and hope to do so with any com-

pleteness. But I shall be content, and you will pardon my many shortcomings, if I have indicated to you the results of honest effort by Irishmen of this generation, in obtaining for their country amended laws—cheap and facile justice—education, liberal, impartial, and available to all — the enforcement of the crowning virtue of a Christian civilisation by sheltering the friendless child and watching over the unhappy lunatic—free and equal exercise of the rights of conscience—increased provision for the national health and comfort—and security in his possessions and encouragement to his industry for the tiller of the soil. In the midst of many troubles and much discouragement, these have been steps of real and cheering progress—improvements permanently conquered from the past, and auspicious, as they will be fruitful, of a happier future. They all belong to the great field of social reform which you desire to cultivate; and I am sure you will appreciate them, and find in them cause for pleasure and hopefulness in the prosecution of your labours. To those labours I leave you, thanking you for your patient kindness, and again bidding you a cordial welcome to the Capital of Ireland.

A LITERARY INSTITUTE IN DONEGAL, AND ITS USES.

A Literary Institute in Donegal, and its Uses.

[This Paper was read at the Opening of the Literary Institute at Letterkenny, in 1877.]

SOME months ago, I had business to do in Donegal, and the friends who then received me, with a cordial kindness I shall not soon forget, showed me, amongst other objects of interest, the handsome building in which we are assembled,—at that time approaching its completion. They told me of the motives which had prompted them to attempt the establishment of a new institution for popular instruction and enjoyment, and of the purposes to which they meant to devote it. They told me, further, that it would be non-political and non-sectarian, and that its advantages,—social, moral, and intellectual,—would be freely shared by all. They did me the honour of expressing their belief that, if I would assist at the opening of it, I might promote its well-being and do some public service. I could not refuse compliance with their wishes. Accordingly, I am here: and I shall be happy if my presence may avail for the smallest benefit to a good work in which I rejoice to participate.

So much it becomes me to say, in explanation of my coming, for such an object, to a place with which I have no immediate connexion. But I would not have you regard me as altogether a stranger to your county. I have owed good offices to many of its friendly people. I have

been long familiar with its scenery and its annals. I have not been unconscious of the common pride of Irishmen in a district forming, with its gray mountains and pleasant valleys, one of the loveliest portions of that girdle of beauty which compasses round about the shores of our island; and I have shared their common interest in the brilliant deeds and sad reverses which have made your local history so picturesque and touching. I do not forget the relations of your ancestors, in the ages that are gone, with the old Celtic stock, to which I am proud to owe my origin; or the struggles, the triumphs, and the sorrows which once associated, for good or evil, the fortunes of Tyr-Connell and that fair Tyr-Owen in which my fathers dwelt. With such feelings and such memories, I am glad to be amongst you.

I have thought, on full reflection, that I shall best discharge the duty cast upon me by telling you, briefly and plainly, the reasons why I regard this Institute as honourable to those who have founded it; fit to confer real benefits on your community, without distinction of party or religion; and, therefore, worthy of the support of reasonable men. I may so, perhaps, do more practical service, than if I entertained you with an address on any special subject of literary or scientific interest.

And first, let me say how much I am gratified by the reflection, that your undertaking is the spontaneous issue of your own intelligence and free-handed liberality. It is a monument of self-reliance and self-assertion, and furnishes an example which other parts of Ireland would do well to imitate.

You are far away from the centres of wealth and commerce. You have no means to lavish on palaces of industry and stately colleges, such as, elsewhere, attract the praise of men. Until now, no railway has reached this town;

though, happily, the want will soon be supplied, and its great capabilities of improvement properly developed. Your people remain in comparative isolation. They do not wage the battle of life with the fretful energy and absorbing care, which mark the civilisation of our time. They have compensation, and possibly more than compensation, in simplicity of manners and domestic purity, such as, if they can be matched, cannot, certainly, be bettered in the world. They are much as they were in times long gone; largely speaking their own old language and following their own old ways.

Yet, under a strong sense of the need of giving to your young men a higher intelligence and a better training, you have, in such circumstances and for such a community, from your personal resources, erected a structure, with all fit appliances towards that good end, of which you have reason to be proud.

I do not undervalue the aid of the Treasury. I do not hold cheap the sanction of the Government. There are undertakings to the success of which such aid and sanction are, of course, essential. There are institutions which cannot exist without them. In these countries, perhaps, the danger is, that the principle of "*laissez faire*" may be applied excessively, and that assistance to individual effort may be too grudgingly afforded by the State. But, on the other hand, without trust in themselves no people can prevail. Governments may remove obstacles to action; and they ought to assist, where assistance is indispensable and will be of manifest advantage to a nation. But we must for ever be our own best helpers. Our own successes are the real and the true,—

> Et genus, et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
> Vix ea nostra voco.

What is properly ours is of our own making: and De Maistre was not far wrong when he said, that what costs us nothing is nothing to us.

Cities in your northern province have built up a great prosperity, without the aid of special favours from Parliaments or administrations. They are justly proud of their independence, and keenly enjoy the triumphs they have gained. In your place and measure, you are treading in their footsteps; and the proceedings of this night should inspirit and sustain all who are prepared manfully to strive in the spirit of the promise: *Aide-toi, et le Ciel t'aidera!*

There are many towns in Ireland, more populous and far more rich than this, in which such institutes as yours would be of inestimable advantage. What you have done, with narrower means and poorer opportunities, they may wisely imitate; and I regard it as a chief credit and blessing of your work, that it furnishes encouragement and guidance to voluntary efforts of a like kind, which may mould for good the lives of coming generations.

I have spoken of the spirit of your action. Let me turn to some of its aims and probable results. The founders of this Institute saw that, in a place so remote, and in circumstances so unfavourable, the opportunities of self-improvement for the young were very scanty. They saw also that, in our time, the acquisition of knowledge has become, for most men, at once an absolute condition of success in life and a probable assurance of it. Competitive examination — whatever may be its shortcomings, and they are many—opens the way of honourable progress: and those who cannot accept its chances must often abandon hope and wither in obscurity. Irishmen have not been slow to avail themselves of the better system which has superseded the monopolising favouritism of the past; and,

wherever they have been permitted to obtain needful culture, they have taken foremost positions in the intellectual race.

Unhappily, that culture is too often beyond their reach. The condition of education amongst us is still, in many respects, very deplorable. This is not the place or the time to consider why it is so; to discuss the vexed questions which are largely raised about it; or to suggest the measures by which it may best be improved. Taking it only in connexion with the matter I have in hand, it is enough for me to indicate that whilst our primary schools are, in many respects, excellent and do great service—whether subsidised by the liberality of the State or conducted, without earthly reward, by self-sacrificing brotherhoods—we are miserably wanting in the appliances of intermediate instruction. In that respect, the provision for our middle classes is utterly inadequate. Even the seminaries which they formerly frequented have been, to a large extent, destroyed by the inevitable rivalry of new institutions, primarily designed only for the masses: and they have lost, in numerous districts, the opportunities of training in classics and science which were enjoyed by those who went before them. The result, unquestionably, is that a great and grievous want is felt throughout the country. The proper preparation for competition is often unattainable. The level of intelligence is lowered; and we hear from examiners for matriculation in colleges, and from persons of authority abroad, serious complaints of the imperfect information exhibited by Irish youths, often of high natural capacity and eager aptitude for study, but put at disadvantage and subjected to defeat, by an absence of early instruction for which they are in no way responsible.

This is sad; and it is sad, also, to feel that, as another consequence of the want to which I point, we are failing in

the circulation and enjoyment of a sound and wholesome literature. The bookshops in our country towns are not nearly as numerous or as well furnished as they ought to be, or as they would be, if we were a reading people; and although there are still publishers in Dublin of enterprise and energy, the trade in books has manifestly deteriorated.

And thus the evil works, by action and reaction. The decadence of schools of a higher order induces a want of the taste for letters which "grows by what it feeds on"; and the absence of that taste diminishes or destroys the sense of the importance and necessity of mental cultivation, which would compel the creation of a teaching power sufficient to produce it.

I speak of this subject with pain, but with a profound conviction that it is of the most vital moment to the very highest interests of Ireland. This is no time for retrogression. It is no time for standing still. The world is moving forward, and we should be ashamed to lag behind. We are not wanting in the faculty of progress. We do not lack quickness of perception, or capacity of labour, or appreciation of the profit and delight of intellectual activity. We have no reason to suppose that the qualities which, rightly employed, won for our country, in the long-gone centuries, the proud title,—"*insula doctorum et sanctorum*,"—are not ours to-day. And we are more fortunate than our forefathers of later generations. Still, as I believe, only in the opening of a happier era, and affected inevitably by the evils of a melancholy past, we have seen great changes which have swept away many difficulties and invited our country to a new career of moral and material advancement. I do not speak as a politician in an address to an Institute which is strictly non-political, and I avoid any subjects of possible controversy in an assembly which, happily and exceptionally, comprises men of the most

various views in politics and religion. But we must all concur, that we cannot rest in contented ignorance, or fail to prepare ourselves to make the best use of the good influences which promise a better future for our race. I earnestly trust, we shall not; but, surely, it is lamentable that whilst the want of a higher education, which I have deplored, continues unsupplied, generation passes after generation, with lapsed opportunities and baffled hopes, and individual sacrifices are as numerous as national discredit and disaster are extreme.

The responsibility is great, indeed, of those who are, in any way, answerable for the continuance of such a state of things. I have referred to it as illustrating one of the main motives of the founders of your Institute, who resolved that, in their own sphere, they would strive to relieve themselves from any share in that responsibility. They could not control the action of Governments or infuse wisdom into the counsels of statesmen. They were tired of waiting, whilst childhood grew to adolescence and youth to age, without the advantages needful for the progress of a people, and due to them as social and moral beings. They saw that they could supply those advantages, at least within narrow limits and in a moderate way, and give to the families of your town and county some opportunity of becoming acquainted with the literature of the past and the present, and keeping abreast with the progress of modern intelligence. They saw, also, that they could assist the youth of Donegal in striving for that honourable advancement which is no longer compatible with stagnation of the mental powers.

Accordingly, they undertook the task which is to-night completed. They set about the erection of this commodious building, which will afford the use of a library and reading-room, a circulating library, a fine lecture-hall, and a school-

room of great proportions, for instruction in the mornings and the evenings. The design was carried into effect without noise or ostentation, and its framers may congratulate themselves on its perfect success. In a place like this, their effort must have been difficult as their end was good; and those who come after them may yet have reason to hold their names in benediction.

If the scheme be carried to its results in the wise and energetic spirit which has given it origin, sound instruction may be secured, and a comprehensive and well-selected library formed, at little cost; and those to whom the means of mental training are now denied, will be enabled to cultivate that friendship with books which endures when other friendships fail us,—which time does not chill or change of fortune weaken,—which stimulates our youth to worthy action, and solaces our age in its decrepitude. They may disport themselves in every region of the vast domain of letters. They may form that love of reading which Gibbon declared he would not exchange for the treasures of the Indies. They may study the historians who chronicle the workings of Providence on earth, and develope the philosophy which teaches by example. They may rejoice in communion with

> The gentle poets who have made us heirs
> Of truth and pure delight in deathless lays,

and grow familiar with the thinkers by whom the great dogmas of morals and religion have been maintained, for the salvation of society and the completer assurance of our immortal hopes. And now and hereafter, gifted men may be found amongst you, who, without such instruction and endowment, must have sunk into their graves,

> To fortune and to fame unknown,

but, with their aid, may play high parts in the world's great drama, and cover with honour the land that bore them.

So far for this Institute, as an instrument for intellectual training. Its founders had another end in view. They desired that it should also afford harmless and wholesome enjoyment. They had found that here, as elsewhere in Ireland, habits of intemperance have done much injury. I do not believe that, amongst you, they are carried to such excess as in other places. But intoxication is the "*ver rongeur*"—the unspeakable curse of our people; and "*obsta principiis*" has, always, been the counsel of the wise. It was conceived that, to correct such habits and to prevent the formation of them, the supply of simple and honest pleasures would be of high importance; and that supply has been sought not only in the literary organisation of which I have spoken, but also in appliances more exclusively for amusement—a billiard-room, ball-courts, and things of a like kind.

Of this branch of the Institute, all who know human nature and human life are sure to approve. If it avail, in any way, to check intoxication, it will be a priceless blessing. Need I speak of the miseries and scandals with which that vice has blighted a country, but for it eminently moral and, at present, almost free from the taint of serious crime? You all know how fearful are its consequences. It blackens the fairest prospects and withers the highest hopes. It dulls the intellect and kills the best affections of the heart. It destroys the sweet charities of life; makes God's great gift of free will vain; and degrades natures that were generous, to the overmastering slavery of the basest self-indulgence. It makes earthly pandemoniums of homes which should be happy; and dooms their inmates to life-long torture. It gives criminals to our gaols, and beggars to our workhouses; and perverts the prosperity, which increases wages

and should increase comfort and strengthen virtue, into a devilish engine for the proportionate increase of vice and wretchedness. Exaggeration of its evils is impossible. Their enormity transcends the force of language. The squalid dwelling; the outraged wife; the starving child; the shattered frame; the quick decay; the delirious agony; the despairing death-bed, and the pauper's grave;—these are familiar horrors which proclaim, with eloquence more scathing than words can utter, the fate of the drunkard and the misery of all who have relations with him. The old poet understood our fallen nature when he said,—

> Unless above himself he can
> Erect himself, how mean a thing is man!

If, on the contrary, he takes the downward course, he will grow far worse than mean, and to the ungoverned appetite of the brute may be swiftly added the atrocity of the demon.

No wonder that men labour to find the remedy for an evil so grievous. It is not easy of discovery. Mere legislation will not suffice. Sumptuary laws have never moralised a people. Bad men are not made good by Act of Parliament. Statesmanship may do much in removing the occasions of sin and the incitement of temptation. It may make wise sanitary arrangements, which help on spiritual as well as material progress; and whatever in this way may be reasonably accomplished, we are bound to do by our most sacred obligations to Humanity and to God. But true reformation must come from within. The root of moral evil is in the soul of man; and until it is torn away no real cure can be effected by external action.

Unless changed habits and changed feelings induce a change of life, statutes threaten and judges punish vainly.

The Roman satirist expressed a truth of all time in his pregnant question:—

> Quid leges, sine moribus,
> Vanæ proficiunt?

If moral restraint is wanting, what avail your laws?

Neither, for the children of toil, is it sufficient to feed the intellect with knowledge. When long hours have been spent in labour, men need repose, and crave for occupations which may not tax further their outworn energies. The exhausted body does not accept as pleasure a strain upon the mind; and imperfect information and poorly-cultivated tastes do not well prepare us to engage with easy satisfaction in grave thinking, or any high exercise of the imaginative faculties.

After a hard day's work, men seek a pleasant evening; and this we must afford them, or the consequences will be formidable. We must try to wean them from evil, and lure them to good, by inducements suitable to their condition and capacities, of which they can appreciate the value. We must show them that enjoyment is not the monopoly of vice; and supply it in innocent and wholesome forms, as the alternative of that which leads to shame and ruin.

I rejoice to say, that the founders of this Institute have recognised these truths, and desire to give them practical application. They know that, for those who are absorbed in long and exhausting labours,—even when the law has done its best, and such imperfect mental discipline has their circumstances permit has been applied to them,—there is still need of a kindly care which shall lead them to the way of well-doing in the vacant hours, when idleness, "the mother of mischief," prompts them to dangerous thoughts and unseemly actions.

Leisure is a blessing or a curse, according to the use we

make of it; and for masses of our people, as things stand, it is almost universally a curse. In most of the Continental nations, there are ample opportunities for enjoying and utilising the periods of rest, which the Creator has made necessary to our existence. In many of them, the climate alone is a source of happiness. The brilliant sunlight, the buoyant air, the continuous clearness of the atmosphere invite to out-door pleasures which are cheap and simple as they are sufficing; and no one can have seen the multitudes who congregate to partake of them, when the day is over, in some of those favoured lands, without the assurance that—

They feel it is a luxury to be.

Besides, the "sweet South" has in its climate none of those incitements to indulgence in stimulating drinks which are found in the cold and humid North, and its superior temperance has less merit, for there is little inclination to excess.

And, besides, in foreign countries, there are often arrangements of the best kind for the gratification of the multitude. Their houses may be humble, but they are generally neat and clean. Spacious parks are opened, giving health and comfort to those who use them; and music is supplied abundantly, of high quality and without cost to individual persons.

In Ireland, unhappily, things are otherwise. Our climate —excellent in many ways—is soft and genial, and, save in certain conditions of health, wholesome and enjoyable. But it is uncertain, and has too much of damp and gloom to tempt us to much continuance under the open sky.

The dwellings of our working classes are often unfit to shelter human beings,—incapable of order or decency, and a positive scandal to our civilisation.

Of the other appliances for popular comfort and recrea-

tion at which I have glanced, we have lamentably few. I do not believe that, in all Europe, they are so poorly furnished; and I know few duties of statesmanship or enlightened charity more imperative than that of endeavouring to supply them.

What are—what must be—the effects on our social condition? The artisan, who has been engaged in weary and unbroken effort from the early dawn, comes home at night to a place, as I have said, often unfit for human habitation,—disgusting in its squalor, and pestilential in its filth,—to find his family huddling together, without the most ordinary means of making life pleasant or endurable. He may have four or five hours to spend after his work is over; and how, in such circumstances, is he to get through them? Is it wonderful, that he withdraws from his dismal den and its foul surroundings, and seeks, in the absence of all better things, the light, the warmth, and the companionship of the public-house, where he finds excitement, and purchases it, too often, by ruining his body and his soul?

Or, take another case. The early closing movement had a great aspect of beneficence. It seemed accordant with the wisest speculation and the most genial kindness, that young people should have their working-hours abridged, and be so enabled to cultivate themselves and make their lives more agreeable and better. And this good result, I have no doubt, has sometimes been obtained. But suppose an assistant or apprentice in any town, where shops close at six or seven o'clock, finds himself, after discharging his duties faithfully throughout the day, driven to consider what he shall do with his evening. He may have no friends to visit. He may have no aptitude for study. He may have no books to read. What is he to do? How is he to while away the dreary minutes till his bed hour comes? And shall we be surprised, if, in the absence of all means of

employing them profitably, he turns them to ill account and allows himself to be drawn to the haunts of evil which will be found always inviting him to enter? What is his alternative? What is his protection? He may for a time resist temptation; but our humanity is very weak, and we know little of it if we wonder at his almost inevitable fall.

I am aware that efforts have been made to give working people dwellings fit to be occupied without the moral mischiefs to which I have pointed. And I know, also, that good employers in great houses have arranged for the care and instruction of their young servants during the evenings. Those who have done such things are entitled to all honour; and a great deal more, I fervently trust, may be accomplished in the same direction. But, meanwhile, enormous mischiefs continue to prevail; and the illustrations I have chosen are sadly practical and real at the present hour.

The value of your Institute, if it tend, in any material degree, to supply the terrible want I have described, cannot be over-estimated. The law must do its part. The school must do its part. The Church must do its part; but neither coercive penalties, nor opportunities of literary acquisition, nor earnest zeal and eloquent remonstrance, sustained by the divine authority of religion, will dispense with the necessity of weaning men from vice by giving them facilities for the practice of virtue; and antagonising temptations to an evil career, by countervailing allurements to a worthier life.

The ideal set before themselves by the founders of your Institute was, in this regard, a very noble one. If it be realised, as it certainly may be, one great want of our time will be supplied for this part of the island; and again, the example set by you may have, and ought to have, ready imitation in many an Irish town, where people who are good,

and wish to be better, are longing for the helps you design to afford. With pleasant rooms and attractive literature and musical performances, and friendly conversation and innocent amusement, you may redeem from error and confirm in virtue. Man has been described as a "bundle of habits": and those which he forms, under such happy influences, will purify his nature and give order to his life.

I might say more of the uses to which such an institution may be applied, but I have pointed sufficiently to its importance, for the purposes of social morality and educational training. Need I urge the duty of affording it efficient support and keeping it in healthy activity? Need I press upon those for whose benefit it has been created, and who should be very thankful for it, the necessity of availing themselves of its advantages and the propriety of demonstrating their gratitude, in the most acceptable way, by practically showing how well those advantages are appreciated and how profitably they are employed?

To many, I trust, it may open a prosperous career: to some, it may give the opportunity of rising to high position by the cultivation of special gifts: to all who come within the sphere of its influence it should be a welcome agency for making them wiser and better men. And all should receive the help it offers—even if that help should not bring the endowments of riches or of rank, which the world most values—with a deep sense of the aid it may afford to secure the blessings derived from a cultivation of those pure affections and a firm adhesion to those sound principles, which, in every station, exalt the human character, and give to our existence on this earth its truest dignity and grace.

> Howe'er it be, it seems to me
> 'Tis only noble to be good;
> Kind hearts are more than coronets,
> And simple faith than Norman blood.

We are not born into the world merely to secure material advantages, to hunt after honours, or accumulate wealth; and the humblest man who comes into the halls we open to him, to-night, with an honest purpose of self-improvement and a real design to seek such guidance as may make his life more useful to his fellow-creatures, and more satisfactory to his own conscience, may find in them more profit, although he remain in his obscurity, than many another whose stronger ambition and greater powers may send him forth from them to achieve a loftier place.

But, though this be so, and though it is fitting that the true value of culture should not be mis-estimated, or the relative importance of material and spiritual advancement misunderstood—for the mass of men the prizes of success are required to prompt them to fruitful action; and, undoubtedly those prizes may be honourably sought and won with blameless pleasure. There are few of us who could address Fortune in the words of the Laureate :—

> Smile and we smile, the lords of many lands ;
> Frown and we smile, the lords of our own hands,
> For man is man and master of his fate !

In one sense, he is :—in the sense of which the Stoic dreamed and which the Gospel realised by its counsels of self-abnegation and detachment ; but there are not many so learned in the science of the saints, as to be indifferent to the results of their endeavours. And I do not suppose that the young men who may be attracted to this Institute will not strive to utilise its training by arming themselves for the difficulties they must encounter, if they would outrun their fellows and make their mark in life. Very many of them, I am sure, will do so: and they may well be emboldened to the trial, by the knowledge, that, in spite of disadvantage and discouragement, Irishmen, in later times—

as I have already noted—have held their own and more than their own, in the endless competitions which have tested capacity and acquirement. In no boastful spirit, I again remind you that, proportionally with their numbers, their successes have been very great. In every branch of the Civil Service, they have forced for themselves an honourable recognition. Abroad, they have risen to the most coveted and eminent posts. A Northern Irishman directs the commerce of the Chinese Empire.* Another Northern Irishman—a very dear and honoured friend of mine, after holding, with high distinction, the Premiership of the great dominion of Victoria, now occupies the foremost place in its Legislative Assembly by the unanimous choice of the representatives.† Our colonies have—I believe, every one of them—had Irish Governors; and a distinguished compatriot of your own, born almost within a stone's-throw of the place in which I stand, has held the dignity successively in Queensland, New Zealand and Victoria.‡ I cannot speak, as I would wish, in his own presence and that of his venerated brother,§ of another Donegal man‖ who reached, at an early age, the highest position at the Bar of the colony in which he had chosen to commence his professional career; and, having well and faithfully discharged the high functions of its Attorney-General, has returned—at once with youthful vigour and ripe experience—to win new honours in his own land.

I have thought fit to refer to these things, because such examples of well-won success may profitably excite honest emulation and rouse dormant energy; but is it needful that I should appeal to recent events, in this historic region, where thronging memories of the past connect themselves

* Mr. Hart. † Sir C. Gavan Duffy. ‡ Sir G. F. Bowen.
§ The late Most Rev. Dr. MacDevitt, Bishop of Raphœ, who presided at the meeting. ‖ Mr. E. O. MacDevitt.

with your effort of the present, and impel you to make it worthy of the men who have gone before you?

Those memories are proud and they are mournful. I do not ask you to recal the days of pomp and splendour when the O'Donnell stood upon the Rock of Doon, and received from the successor of Columb-Cille the white rod which symbolised at once the authority, the purity, and the justice with which he promised to wield the sceptre. Nor shall I stir you with a narrative of the conflicts of the time when a Fitzgerald, the bravest of the Anglo-Norman race, encountered the chieftain of Tyrconnell and each fell, fighting, by the other's hand. Nor shall I tell the sad story which, to this hour, so touches the hearts of Irishmen, of the flight of the great Earls from the Rathmullan shore to hide their broken fortunes in the obscurity of exile, and yearn, through dismal years, for return to the land they had left, until foreign earth received their dust in the capital of Christendom.

But it is fit and becoming that I should ask you to remember, whilst we inaugurate an Institute designed to diffuse knowledge and improve morality, that Donegal, in the distant past, when intellectual darkness was settling down upon the world, and the ruin of Imperial Rome was followed by barbarous anarchy, had teachers, eminent alike for their learning and their sanctity, directing schools which possessed liberal endowments and gave sound instruction not to the Irish only but to those who sought it from afar:—*amandati in Hiberniam ad disciplinas.* The most conclusive evidence assures us that, in the sixth century, Moville and Clonard and Derry had seminaries whose masters were of high repute; and in that century, to be trained in those seminaries, was born, close to this town of Letterkenny, the illustrious man to whom, it is said in your ancient Martyrology, the Apostle of Ireland

prophetically gave the title of Dove of the Churches (Collum Cille). He was, at once, a poet, a scholar, and a saint. In his own country, he was the founder of many schools and monasteries. He encouraged the bards of his time to preserve the muniments of their nation: and when his zeal in God's service drove him to carry the glad tidings of salvation to the Scottish Isles,—radiating from Iona the light of learning and religion across tempestuous seas, and spending himself in toils and wanderings to evangelise the people of Britain,—he continued to be an earnest student, and left writings behind him which justified the eulogium of Adamnan, his biographer and successor, on his eloquence and wisdom. On such an occasion as this, there is a special fitness in the reverent recollection of one so wise and holy, who always combined intellectual labour with his works of piety and mercy: and whose name, after 1,400 years, is still dear to the hearts and blessed by the tongues of the people around us.

One remembrance more it behoves me to awaken,—that of the Four Masters, to whom we owe the preservation to Ireland of a mass of her historical recollections,—"the immortal life of an historical nation,"—which, but for their labours, must, to a great extent, have perished for ever. When they gathered with pious care the ancient records which had been spared by time and civil strife, and made a faithful digest of them in those Annals which O'Curry describes as "the largest collection of national, civil, military, and family history ever brought together in this or, perhaps, any other country,"—they did not know the value of the service they were rendering. They did not know that days, even more evil than had been theretofore her miserable portion, were coming to afflict their country, in which

many of those precious records must, probably, be destroyed. The mischief was averted by the devotion of Michael O'Clery and his Franciscan brethren; and if Ireland shall ever possess a complete and authentic history, she must acknowledge, with gratitude, that she owes it largely to the Monks of Donegal.

There are other local memories on which I would gladly dwell, as full of interest and instruction on such an occasion. But I have already outrun the time allotted for my address; and I have said enough to justify me in asking, whether the emotion roused in you, I doubt not, even by this brief recurrence to the lives and doings of famous men, does not stir you with some ambition to imitate them, however humbly, by aiding in a new endeavour for the cultivation of that love of knowledge, of virtue, and of God, which once inspired them on your native soil?

In conclusion, let me assure you of the true pleasure I have had in meeting you for a purpose so very worthy, and of the value I attach to the more than cordial welcome you have given me. To me, this day will be always memorable for the kindness of which I have been the object. And to you it may be memorable also, as that on which you inaugurated, under fortunate auspices, an Institution—destined, I trust, to promote liberal culture and pure morality for many generations—in an assemblage which, by its rare union of adverse creeds and parties for one noble end, does honour to Ulster, and is of the happiest presage for the future of Ireland.

WYMAN AND SONS, PRINTERS, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.

A LIST OF

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, & CO.'S PUBLICATIONS.

1 *Paternoster Square, London.*

A LIST OF
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, & CO.'S PUBLICATIONS.

ADAMSON (*H. T.*) *B.D.*—THE TRUTH AS IT IS IN JESUS. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 8*s.* 6*d.*

THE THREE SEVENS. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.* 6*d.*

THE MILLENNIUM; OR, THE MYSTERY OF GOD FINISHED. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

A. K. H. B.—FROM A QUIET PLACE. A New Volume of Sermons. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

ALLEN (*Rev. R.*) *M.A.*—ABRAHAM; HIS LIFE, TIMES, AND TRAVELS, 3,800 years ago. With Map. Second Edition. Post 8vo. price 6*s.*

ALLIES (*T. W.*) *M.A.*—PER CRUCEM AD LUCEM. The Result of a Life. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 25*s.*

A LIFE'S DECISION. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

AMOS (*Prof. Sheldon*)—THE HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CIVIL LAW OF ROME. An aid to the study of Scientific and Comparative Jurisprudence. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 16*s.*

ANDERDON (*Rev. W. H.*)—FASTI APOSTOLICI. A Chronology of the Years between the Ascension of Our Lord and the Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth.

EVENINGS WITH THE SAINTS. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

ARMSTRONG (*Richard A.*) *B.A.* — LATTER-DAY TEACHERS. Six Lectures. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

AUBERTIN (*J. J.*)—A FLIGHT TO MEXICO. With 7 full-page Illustrations and a Railway Map of Mexico. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

BADGER (*George Percy*) *D.C.L.*—AN ENGLISH-ARABIC LEXICON. In which the equivalents for English Words and Idiomatic Sentences are rendered into literary and colloquial Arabic. Royal 4to. cloth, price £9. 9*s.*

BAGEHOT (*Walter*)—THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION. Third Edition, Crown 8vo. price 7*s.* 6*d.*

LOMBARD STREET. A Description of the Money Market. Eighth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 7*s.* 6*d.*

SOME ARTICLES ON THE DEPRECIATION OF SILVER, AND TOPICS CONNECTED WITH IT. Demy 8vo. price 5*s.*

BAGENAL (*Philip H.*)—THE AMERICAN-IRISH AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON IRISH POLITICS. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

BAGOT (*Alan*) *C.E.*—ACCIDENTS IN MINES: Their Causes and Prevention. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

THE PRINCIPLES OF COLLIERY VENTILATION. Second Edition, greatly enlarged, crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

BAKER (*Sir Sherston, Bart.*)—THE LAWS RELATING TO QUARANTINE. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 12*s.* 6*d.*

BALDWIN (*Capt. J. H.*)—THE LARGE AND SMALL GAME OF BENGAL AND THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES OF INDIA. Small 4to. With eighteen Illustrations. New and Cheaper Edition. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

BALLIN (*Ada S. and F. L.*)—A HEBREW GRAMMAR. With Exercises selected from the Bible. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

BARCLAY (*Edgar*)—MOUNTAIN LIFE IN ALGERIA. Crown 4to. With numerous Illustrations by Photogravure. Cloth, price 16*s.*

BARLOW (*J. W.*) *M.A.*—THE ULTIMATUM OF PESSIMISM. An Ethical Study. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

BARNES (*William*)—OUTLINES OF REDECRAFT (LOGIC). With English Wording. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.*

BAUR (*Ferdinand*) *Dr. Ph., Professor in Maulbronn.*—A PHILOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION TO GREEK AND LATIN FOR STUDENTS. Translated and adapted from the German by C. KEGAN PAUL, M.A., and the Rev. E. D. STONE, M.A. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

BELLARS (*Rev. W.*)—THE TESTIMONY OF CONSCIENCE TO THE TRUTH AND DIVINE ORIGIN OF THE CHRISTIAN REVELATION. Burney Prize Essay. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

BELLINGHAM (*Henry*) *M.P.*—SOCIAL ASPECTS OF CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM IN THEIR CIVIL BEARING UPON NATIONS. Translated and adapted from the French of M. le Baron de Haulleville. With a Preface by his Eminence Cardinal Manning. Second and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

BELLINGHAM (*H. Belsches Graham*)—UPS AND DOWNS OF SPANISH TRAVEL. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

BENN (*Alfred W.*)—THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 28*s.*

BENT (*J. Theodore*)—GENOA: How the Republic Rose and Fell. With 18 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 18*s.*

BLOOMFIELD (*The Lady*)—REMINISCENCES OF COURT AND DIPLOMATIC LIFE. New and Cheaper Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6*s.*

BLUNT (*The Ven. Archdeacon*)—THE DIVINE PATRIOT, AND OTHER SERMONS, Preached in Scarborough and in Cannes. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 4*s.* 6*d.*

BLUNT (*Wilfrid S.*)—THE FUTURE OF ISLAM. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6*s.*

BONWICK (*J.*) *F.R.G.S.*—PYRAMID FACTS AND FANCIES. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

BOUVERIE-PUSEY (*S. E. B.*)—PERMANENCE AND EVOLUTION. An Inquiry into the supposed Mutability of Animal Types. Crown 8vo. cloth, 5*s.*

BOWEN (*H. C.*) *M.A.*—STUDIES IN ENGLISH, for the use of Modern Schools. Third Edition. Small crown 8vo. price 1*s.* 6*d.*

ENGLISH GRAMMAR FOR BEGINNERS. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, price 1*s.*

BRADLEY (*F. H.*)—THE PRINCIPLES OF LOGIC. Demy 8vo. cloth, 16*s.*

BRIDGETT (*Rev. T. E.*)—HISTORY OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST IN GREAT BRITAIN. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 18*s.*

BRODRICK (*The Hon. G. C.*)—POLITICAL STUDIES. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 14*s.*

BROOKE (*Rev. S. A.*)—LIFE AND LETTERS OF THE LATE REV. F. W. ROBERTSON, M.A. Edited by.

I. Uniform with Robertson's Sermons. 2 vols. With Steel Portrait. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*
II. Library Edition. 8vo. With Portrait. Price 12*s.*
III. A Popular Edition. In 1 vol. 8vo. price 6*s.*

THE FIGHT OF FAITH. Sermons preached on various occasions. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE SPIRIT OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

THEOLOGY IN THE ENGLISH POETS.—Cowper, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Burns. Fifth and Cheaper Edition. Post 8vo. price 5*s.*

CHRIST IN MODERN LIFE. Sixteenth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

SERMONS. First Series. Thirteenth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

SERMONS. Second Series. Sixth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

BROWN (*Rev. J. Baldwin*) *B.A.*—THE HIGHER LIFE: its Reality, Experience, and Destiny. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

DOCTRINE OF ANNIHILATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE GOSPEL OF LOVE. Five Discourses. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 2*s.* 6*d.*

THE CHRISTIAN POLICY OF LIFE. A Book for Young Men of Business. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

BROWN (*S. Borton*) *B.A.*—THE FIRE BAPTISM OF ALL FLESH; OR, the Coming Spiritual Crisis of the Dispensation. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

BROWNBILL (*John*)—PRINCIPLES OF ENGLISH CANON LAW. Part I. General Introduction. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

BROWNE (*W. R.*)—THE INSPIRATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. With a Preface by the Rev. J. P. NORRIS, D.D. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

BURTON (*Mrs. Richard*)—THE INNER LIFE OF SYRIA, PALESTINE, AND THE HOLY LAND. Cheaper Edition in one volume. Large post 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

BUSBECQ (*Ogier Ghiselin de*)—HIS LIFE AND LETTERS. By CHARLES THORNTON FORSTER, M.A., and F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL, M.A. 2 vols. With Frontispieces. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 24*s.*

CARPENTER (*W. B.*) *LL.D., M.D., F.R.S., &c.*—THE PRINCIPLES OF MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY. With their Applications to the Training and Discipline of the Mind, and the Study of its Morbid Conditions. Illustrated. Sixth Edition. 8vo. price 12*s.*

CERVANTES—THE INGENIOUS KNIGHT DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA. A New Translation from the Originals of 1605 and 1608. By A. J. DUFFIELD. With Notes. 3 vols. Demy 8vo. price 42*s.*

JOURNEY TO PARNASSUS. Spanish Text, with Translation by JAMES Y. GIBSON. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 12*s.*

CHEYNE (*Rev. T. K.*)—THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH. Translated with Critical Notes and Dissertations. 2 vols. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 25*s.*

CLAIRAUT—ELEMENTS OF GEOMETRY. Translated by Dr. KAINES. With 145 Figures. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

CLAYDEN (*P. W.*)—ENGLAND UNDER LORD BEACONSFIELD. The Political History of the Last Six Years, from the end of 1873 to the beginning of 1880. Second Edition, with Index and continuation to March 1880. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 16*s.*

SAMUEL SHARPE—EGYPTOLOGIST AND TRANSLATOR OF THE BIBLE. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

CLIFFORD (*Samuel*)—WHAT THINK YE OF THE CHRIST? Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

CLODD (*Edward*) *F.R.A.S.*—THE CHILDHOOD OF THE WORLD: a Simple Account of Man in Early Times. Seventh Edition. Crown 8vo. price 3*s.*

A Special Edition for Schools. Price 1*s.*

THE CHILDHOOD OF RELIGIONS. Including a Simple Account of the Birth and Growth of Myths and Legends. Eighth Thousand. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

A Special Edition for Schools. Price 1*s.* 6*d.*

JESUS OF NAZARETH. With a brief sketch of Jewish History to the Time of His Birth. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

COGHLAN (*J. Cole*) *D.D.*—THE MODERN PHARISEE, AND OTHER SERMONS. Edited by the Very Rev. H. H. DICKINSON, D.D., Dean of Chapel Royal, Dublin. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 7*s.* 6*d.*

COLERIDGE (*Sara*)—MEMOIR AND LETTERS OF SARA COLERIDGE. Edited by her Daughter. With Index. Cheap Edition. With one Portrait. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

COLLECTS EXEMPLIFIED (*The*)—Being Illustrations from the Old and New Testaments of the Collects for the Sundays after Trinity. By the Author of 'A Commentary on the Epistles and Gospels.' Edited by the Rev. JOSEPH JACKSON. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

CONNELL (*A. K.*)—DISCONTENT AND DANGER IN INDIA. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION OF INDIA. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

CORY (*William*)—A GUIDE TO MODERN ENGLISH HISTORY. Part I.—MDCCCXV.-MDCCCXXX. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 9*s.* Part II.—MDCCCXXX.-MDCCCXXXV. Price 15*s.*

COTTERILL (*H. B.*)—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF POETRY. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

COX (*Rev. Sir George W.*) *M.A., Bart.*—A HISTORY OF GREECE FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE END OF THE PERSIAN WAR. New Edition. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. price 36*s.*

THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE ARYAN NATIONS. New Edition. Demy 8vo. price 16*s.*

TALES OF ANCIENT GREECE. New Edition. Small crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

A MANUAL OF MYTHOLOGY IN THE FORM OF QUESTION AND ANSWER. New Edition. Fcp. 8vo. price 3*s.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF COMPARATIVE MYTHOLOGY AND FOLK-LORE. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

COX (*Rev. Sir G. W.*) *M.A., Bart., and JONES* (*Eustace Hinton*)—POPULAR ROMANCES OF THE MIDDLE AGES. Second Edition, in 1 vol. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

COX (*Rev. Samuel*)—SALVATOR MUNDI; or, Is Christ the Saviour of all Men? Eighth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

THE GENESIS OF EVIL, AND OTHER SERMONS, mainly expository. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

A COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF JOB. With a Translation. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 15*s.*

THE LARGER HOPE: a Sequel to 'SALVATOR MUNDI.' 16mo. cloth, price 1*s.*

CRAVEN (*Mrs.*)—A YEAR'S MEDITATIONS. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

CRAWFURD (*Oswald*)—PORTUGAL, OLD AND NEW. With Illustrations and Maps. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

CROZIER (*John Beattie*) *M.B.*—THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

CYCLOPÆDIA OF COMMON THINGS. Edited by the Rev. Sir GEORGE W. COX, Bart., M.A. With 500 Illustrations. Third Edition. Large post 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

DAVIDSON (*Thomas*)—THE PARTHENON FRIEZE, and other Essays. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

DAVIDSON (*Rev. Samuel*) *D.D., LL.D.*—CANON OF THE BIBLE: Its Formation, History, and Fluctuations. Third and revised Edition. Small crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

THE DOCTRINE OF LAST THINGS, contained in the New Testament, compared with the Notions of the Jews and the Statements of Church Creeds. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

DAWSON (*Geo.*) *M.A.*—PRAYERS, WITH A DISCOURSE ON PRAYER. Edited by his Wife. Eighth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

SERMONS ON DISPUTED POINTS AND SPECIAL OCCASIONS. Edited by his Wife. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

SERMONS ON DAILY LIFE AND DUTY. Edited by his Wife. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

THE AUTHENTIC GOSPEL. A New Volume of Sermons. Edited by GEORGE ST. CLAIR. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

THREE BOOKS OF GOD. Nature, History, and Scripture. Sermons, Edited by GEORGE ST. CLAIR. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

DE JONCOURT (*Madame Marie*)—WHOLESOME COOKERY. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

DE LONG (*Lieut.-Com. G. W.*)—THE VOYAGE OF THE 'JEANNETTE.' The Ship and Ice Journals of. Edited by his Wife, EMMA DE LONG. With Portraits, Maps, and many Illustrations on wood and stone. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 36*s.*

DESPREZ (*Philip S.*) *B.D.*—DANIEL AND JOHN; or, the Apocalypse of the Old and that of the New Testament. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 12*s.*

DOWDEN (*Edward*) *LL.D.*—SHAKSPERE: a Critical Study of his Mind and Art. Sixth Edition. Post 8vo. price 12*s.*

STUDIES IN LITERATURE, 1789–1877. Second Edition. Large post 8vo. price 6*s.*

DUFFIELD (*A. J.*)—DON QUIXOTE: HIS CRITICS AND COMMENTATORS. With a brief account of the minor works of MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, and a statement of the aim and end of the greatest of them all. A handy book for general readers. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

DU MONCEL (*Count*)—THE TELEPHONE, THE MICROPHONE, AND THE PHONOGRAPH. With 74 Illustrations. Second Edition. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

EDGEWORTH (*F. Y.*)—MATHEMATICAL PSYCHICS. An Essay on the Application of Mathematics to Social Science. Demy 8vo. cloth, 7*s.* 6*d.*

EDUCATIONAL CODE OF THE PRUSSIAN NATION, IN ITS PRESENT FORM. In accordance with the Decisions of the Common Provincial Law, and with those of Recent Legislation. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

EDUCATION LIBRARY. Edited by PHILIP MAGNUS:—

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL THEORIES. By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A. Second Edition. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

OLD GREEK EDUCATION. By the Rev. Prof. MAHAFFY, M.A. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT; including a General View of the Work of Education, Organization, and Discipline. By JOSEPH LANDON. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6*s.*

ELSDALE (*Henry*)—STUDIES IN TENNYSON'S IDYLLS. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

ELYOT (*Sir Thomas*)—THE BOKE NAMED THE GOUERNOUR. Edited from the First Edition of 1531 by HENRY HERBERT STEPHEN CROFT, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. With Portraits of Sir Thomas and Lady Elyot, copied by permission of her Majesty from Holbein's Original Drawings at Windsor Castle. 2 vols. Fcp. 4to. cloth, price 50*s.*

ENOCH, THE PROPHET. The Book of. Archbishop Laurence's Translation. With an Introduction by the Author of the 'Evolution of Christianity.' Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

ERANUS. A COLLECTION OF EXERCISES IN THE ALCAIC AND SAPPHIC METRES. Edited by F. W. CORNISH, Assistant Master at Eton. Crown 8vo. cloth, 2*s.*

EVANS (*Mark*)—THE STORY OF OUR FATHER'S LOVE, told to Children. Sixth and Cheaper Edition. With Four Illustrations. Fcp. 8vo. price 1*s.* 6*d.*

A BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND WORSHIP FOR HOUSEHOLD USE, compiled exclusively from the Holy Scriptures. Second Edition. Fcp. 8vo. price 1*s.*

THE GOSPEL OF HOME LIFE. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

THE KING'S STORY-BOOK. In Three Parts. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.* each.

*** Parts I. and II. with Eight Illustrations and Two Picture Maps, now ready.

'FAN KWAE' AT CANTON BEFORE TREATY DAYS, 1825–1844. By AN OLD RESIDENT. With Frontispieces. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

FLECKER (*Rev. Eliezer*)—SCRIPTURE ONOMATOLOGY. Being Critical Notes on the Septuagint and other versions. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

FLOREDICE (*W. H.*)—A MONTH AMONG THE MERE IRISH. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

GARDINER (*Samuel R.*) *and J. BASS MULLINGER, M.A.*—INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ENGLISH HISTORY. Large crown 8vo. cloth, price 9*s.*

GARDNER (*Dorsey*)—QUATRE BRAS, LIGNY, AND WATERLOO. A Narrative of the Campaign in Belgium, 1815. With Maps and Plans. Demy 8vo. cloth, 16*s.*

GENESIS IN ADVANCE OF PRESENT SCIENCE. A Critical Investigation of Chapters I. to IX. By a Septuagenarian Beneficed Presbyter. Demy 8vo cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

GENNA (*E.*)—IRRESPONSIBLE PHILANTHROPISTS. Being some Chapters on the Employment of Gentlewomen. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price, 2*s.* 6*d*

GEORGE (*Henry*)—PROGRESS AND POVERTY: an Inquiry into the Causes of Industrial Depressions, and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth. The Remedy. Second Edition. Post 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

*** Also a Cheap Edition, limp cloth, 1*s.* 6*d.*; paper covers, 1*s.*

GIBSON (*James Y.*)—JOURNEY TO PARNASSUS. Composed by MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA. Spanish Text, with Translation into English Tercets, Preface, and Illustrative Notes by. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 12*s.*

GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND PHRASES. Edited by the Rev. H. PERCY SMITH and others. Medium 8vo. cloth, price 12*s.*

GLOVER (*F.*) *M.A.*—EXEMPLA LATINA. A First Construing Book, with Short Notes, Lexicon, and an Introduction to the Analysis of Sentences. Fcp 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.*

GOLDSMID (*Sir Francis Henry*) *Bart., Q.C., M.P.*—MEMOIR OF Second Edition, revised, with Portrait. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

GOODENOUGH (*Commodore J. G.*)—MEMOIR OF, with Extracts from his Letters and Journals. Edited by his Widow. With Steel Engraved Portrait. Square 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

*** Also a Library Edition with Maps, Woodcuts, and Steel Engraved Portrait. Square post 8vo. price 14*s.*

GOSSE (*Edmund W.*)—STUDIES IN THE LITERATURE OF NORTHERN EUROPE. With a Frontispiece designed and etched by Alma Tadema. New and Cheaper Edition. Large post 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY STUDIES. A Contribution to the History of English Poetry. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

GOULD (*Rev. S. Baring*) *M.A.*—GERMANY, PRESENT AND PAST. New and Cheaper Edition. Large crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

GOWAN (*Major Walter E.*)—A. IVANOFF'S RUSSIAN GRAMMAR. (16th Edition). Translated, enlarged, and arranged for use of Students of the Russian Language. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

GOWER (*Lord Ronald*)—MY REMINISCENCES. Second Edition. 2 vols. With Frontispieces. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 30*s.*

GRAHAM (*William*) *M.A.*—THE CREED OF SCIENCE, Religious, Moral, and Social. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

GRIFFITH (*Thomas*) *A.M.*—THE GOSPEL OF THE DIVINE LIFE: a Study of the Fourth Evangelist. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 14*s.*

GRIMLEY (*Rev. H. N.*) *M.A.*—TREMADOC SERMONS, CHIEFLY ON THE SPIRITUAL BODY, THE UNSEEN WORLD, AND THE DIVINE HUMANITY. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

HAECKEL (*Prof. Ernst*)—THE HISTORY OF CREATION. Translation revised by Professor E. RAY LANKESTER, M.A., F.R.S. With Coloured Plates and Genealogical Trees of the various groups of both plants and animals. 2 vols. Third Edition. Post 8vo. cloth, price 32*s.*

THE HISTORY OF THE EVOLUTION OF MAN. With numerous Illustrations. 2 vols. Post 8vo. price 32*s.*

A VISIT TO CEYLON. Post 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

FREEDOM IN SCIENCE AND TEACHING. With a Prefatory Note by T. H. HUXLEY, F.R.S. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

HALF-CROWN SERIES :—

A LOST LOVE. By ANNA C. OGLE (Ashford Owen).

SISTER DORA : a Biography. By MARGARET LONSDALE.

TRUE WORDS FOR BRAVE MEN : a Book for Soldiers and Sailors. By the late CHARLES KINGSLEY.

AN INLAND VOYAGE. By R. L. STEVENSON.

TRAVELS WITH A DONKEY. By R. L. STEVENSON.

NOTES OF TRAVEL : being Extracts from the Journals of Count VON MOLTKE.

ENGLISH SONNETS. Collected and Arranged by J. DENNIS.

LONDON LYRICS. By F. LOCKER.

HOME SONGS FOR QUIET HOURS. By the Rev. Canon R. H. BAYNES.

HAWEIS (*Rev. H. R.*) *M.A.*—CURRENT COIN. Materialism—The Devil—Crime—Drunkenness—Pauperism—Emotion—Recreation—The Sabbath. Fifth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

ARROWS IN THE AIR. Fifth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

SPEECH IN SEASON. Fifth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

THOUGHTS FOR THE TIMES. Thirteenth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

UNSECTARIAN FAMILY PRAYERS. New and Cheaper Edition. Fcp. 8vo. price 1*s.* 6*d.*

HAWKINS (*Edwards Comerford*)—SPIRIT AND FORM. Sermons preached in the Parish Church of Leatherhead. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

HAWTHORNE (*Nathaniel*)—WORKS. Complete in 12 vols. Large post 8vo. each vol. 7*s.* 6*d.*

VOL. I. TWICE-TOLD TALES.
II. MOSSES FROM AN OLD MANSE.
III. THE HOUSE OF THE SEVEN GABLES, and THE SNOW IMAGE.
IV. THE WONDER BOOK, TANGLEWOOD TALES, and GRANDFATHER'S CHAIR.
V. THE SCARLET LETTER, and THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE.
VI. THE MARBLE FAUN. (Transformation.)
VII. & VIII. OUR OLD HOME, and ENGLISH NOTE-BOOKS.
IX. AMERICAN NOTE-BOOKS.
X. FRENCH AND ITALIAN NOTE-BOOKS.
XI. SEPTIMIUS FELTON, THE DOLLIVER ROMANCE, FANSHAWE, and, in an appendix, THE ANCESTRAL FOOTSTEP.
XII. TALES AND ESSAYS, AND OTHER PAPERS, WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF HAWTHORNE.

HAYES (*A. H.*) *Jun.*—NEW COLORADO AND THE SANTA FÉ TRAIL. With Map and 60 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 9*s.*

HENNESSY (*Sir John Pope*)—RALEGH IN IRELAND, WITH HIS LETTERS ON IRISH AFFAIRS AND SOME CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS. Large crown 8vo. printed on hand-made paper, parchment, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

HENRY (*Philip*)—DIARIES AND LETTERS. Edited by MATTHEW HENRY LEE. Large crown 8vo. cloth, 7*s.* 6*d.*

HIDE (*Albert*)—THE AGE TO COME. Small crown 8vo. cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

HIME (*Major H. W. L.*) *R.A.*—WAGNERISM: a Protest. Crown 8vo. cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

HINTON (*J.*)—THE MYSTERY OF PAIN. New Edition. Fcp. 8vo. cloth limp, 1*s.*

LIFE AND LETTERS. Edited by ELLICE HOPKINS, with an Introduction by Sir W. W. GULL, Bart., and Portrait engraved on Steel by C. H. JEENS. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 8*s.* 6*d.*

HOLTHAM (*E. G.*)—EIGHT YEARS IN JAPAN, 1873–1881. Work, Travel, and Recreation. With 3 Maps. Large crown 8vo. cloth, price 9*s.*

HOOPER (*Mary*)—LITTLE DINNERS: HOW TO SERVE THEM WITH ELEGANCE AND ECONOMY. Seventeenth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 2*s.* 6*d.*

COOKERY FOR INVALIDS, PERSONS OF DELICATE DIGESTION, AND CHILDREN. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. price 2*s.* 6*d.*

EVERY-DAY MEALS. Being Economical and Wholesome Recipes for Breakfast, Luncheon, and Supper. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

HOPKINS (*Ellice*)—LIFE AND LETTERS OF JAMES HINTON, with an Introduction by Sir W. W. GULL, Bart., and Portrait engraved on Steel by C. H. JEENS. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 8*s.* 6*d.*

WORK AMONGST WORKING MEN. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 3*s.* 6*d.*

HOSPITALIER (*E.*)—THE MODERN APPLICATIONS OF ELECTRICITY. Translated and Enlarged by JULIUS MAIER, Ph.D. 2 vols. With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo. cloth, 12*s.* 6*d.* each volume.

VOL. I.—Electric Generators, Electric Light.
II.—Telephone: Various Applications: Electrical Transmission of Energy.

HOUSEHOLD READINGS ON PROPHECY. By A LAYMAN. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

HUGHES (*Henry*)—THE REDEMPTION OF THE WORLD. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

HUNTINGFORD (*Rev. E.*) *D.C.L.*—THE APOCALYPSE. With a Commentary and Introductory Essay. Demy 8vo. cloth, 9*s.*

HUTTON (*Arthur*) *M.A.*—THE ANGLICAN MINISTRY: its Nature and Value in relation to the Catholic Priesthood. With a Preface by his Eminence Cardinal Newman. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 14*s.*

HUTTON (*Charles F.*)—UNCONSCIOUS TESTIMONY; OR, THE SILENT WITNESS OF THE HEBREW TO THE TRUTH OF THE HISTORICAL SCRIPTURES. Crown 8vo. cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

IM THURN (*Everard F.*)—AMONG THE INDIANS OF BRITISH GUIANA. Being Sketches, chiefly Anthropologic, from the Interior of British Guiana. With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo. cloth.

JENKINS (*E.*) *and RAYMOND* (*J.*)—THE ARCHITECT'S LEGAL HANDBOOK. Third Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

JENKINS (*Rev. R. C.*) *M.A.*—THE PRIVILEGE OF PETER and the Claims of the Roman Church confronted with the Scriptures, the Councils, and the Testimony of the Popes themselves. Fcp. 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

JERVIS (*Rev. W. Henley*)—THE GALLICAN CHURCH AND THE REVOLUTION. A Sequel to the History of the Church of France, from the Concordat of Bologna to the Revolution. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 18*s.*

JOEL (*L.*)—A CONSUL'S MANUAL AND SHIPOWNER'S AND SHIPMASTER'S PRACTICAL GUIDE IN THEIR TRANSACTIONS ABROAD. With Definitions of Nautical, Mercantile, and Legal Terms; a Glossary of Mercantile Terms in English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish; Tables of the Money, Weights, and Measures of the Principal Commercial Nations and their Equivalents in British Standards; and Forms of Consular and Notarial Acts. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 12*s.*

JOHNSTONE (*C. F.*) *M.A.*—HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS: being Outlines of the History of some of the less known States of Europe. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

JOLLY (*William*) *F.R.S.E.*—JOHN DUNCAN, Scotch Weaver and Botanist. With Sketches of his Friends and Notices of his Times. With Portrait. Second Edition. Large crown 8vo. cloth, price 9*s.*

JONES (*C. A.*)—THE FOREIGN FREAKS OF FIVE FRIENDS. With 30 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6*s.*

JOYCE (*P. W.*) *LL.D. &c.*—OLD CELTIC ROMANCES. Translated from the Gaelic. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

JOYNES (*J. L.*)—THE ADVENTURES OF A TOURIST IN IRELAND. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

KAUFMANN (*Rev. M.*) *B.A.*—SOCIALISM: its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies considered. Crown 8vo. price 7*s.* 6*d.*

UTOPIAS; or, Schemes of Social Improvement, from Sir Thomas More to Karl Marx. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

KAY (*Joseph*)—FREE TRADE IN LAND. Edited by his Widow. With Preface by the Right Hon. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

KEMPIS (*Thomas à*)—OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. Parchment Library Edition, 6*s.*; or vellum, 7*s.* 6*d.* The Red Line Edition, fcp. 8vo. cloth, red edges, price 2*s.* 6*d.* The Cabinet Edition, small 8vo. cloth, red edges, price 1*s.* 6*d.* The Miniature Edition, 32mo. cloth, red edges, price 1*s.*

*** All the above Editions may be had in various extra bindings.

KENT (*C.*)—CORONA CATHOLICA AD PETRI SUCCESSORIS PEDES OBLATA. DE SUMMI PONTIFICIS LEONIS XIII. ASSUMPTIONE EPIGRAMMA. In Quinquaginta Linguis. Fcp. 4to. cloth, price 15*s.*

KETTLEWELL (*Rev. S.*)—THOMAS À KEMPIS AND THE BROTHERS OF COMMON LIFE. 2 vols. With Frontispieces. Demy 8vo. cloth, 30*s.*

KIDD (*Joseph*) *M.D.*—THE LAWS OF THERAPEUTICS; or, the Science and Art of Medicine. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

KINGSFORD (*Anna*) *M.D.*—THE PERFECT WAY IN DIET. A Treatise advocating a Return to the Natural and Ancient Food of Race. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.*

KINGSLEY (*Charles*) *M.A.*—LETTERS AND MEMORIES OF HIS LIFE. Edited by his WIFE. With Two Steel Engraved Portraits and Vignettes. Thirteenth Cabinet Edition, in 2 vols. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 12*s.*

*** Also a new and condensed edition in 1 vol. With Portrait. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

ALL SAINTS' DAY, and other Sermons. Edited by the Rev. W. HARRISON. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. price 7*s.* 6*d.*

TRUE WORDS FOR BRAVE MEN. A Book for Soldiers' and Sailors' Libraries. Tenth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 2*s.* 6*d.*

KNOX (*Alexander A.*)—THE NEW PLAYGROUND; or, Wanderings in Algeria. New and Cheaper Edition. Large crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

LANDON (*Joseph*)—SCHOOL MANAGEMENT; including a General View of the Work of Education, Organisation, and Discipline. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

LAURIE (*S. S.*)—THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS, and other Educational Papers. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

LEE (*Rev. F. G.*) *D.C.L.*—THE OTHER WORLD; or, Glimpses of the Supernatural. 2 vols. A New Edition. Crown 8vo. price 15*s.*

LETTERS FROM A YOUNG EMIGRANT IN MANITOBA. Second Edition. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

LEWIS (*Edward Dillon*)—A DRAFT CODE OF CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 21*s.*

LILLIE (*Arthur*) *M.R.A.S.*—THE POPULAR LIFE OF BUDDHA. Containing an Answer to the Hibbert Lectures of 1881. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. cloth.

LINDSAY (*W. Lauder*) *M.D., F.R.S.E., &c.*—MIND IN THE LOWER ANIMALS IN HEALTH AND DISEASE. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 32*s.*

Vol. I.—Mind in Health. Vol. II.—Mind in Disease.

LLOYD (*Walter*)—THE HOPE OF THE WORLD: An Essay on Universal Redemption. Crown 8vo. cloth, 5*s.*

LONSDALE (*Margaret*)—SISTER DORA: a Biography. With Portrait. Twenty-fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

LOWDER (*Charles*)—A BIOGRAPHY. By the Author of 'St. Teresa.' New and Cheaper Edition. Large crown 8vo. With Portrait. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

LYTTON (*Edward Bulwer, Lord*)—LIFE, LETTERS, AND LITERARY REMAINS. By his Son the EARL OF LYTTON. With Portraits, Illustrations, and Facsimiles. Demy 8vo. cloth. [Vols. I. and II. just ready.

MACHIAVELLI (*Niccolò*)—DISCOURSE ON THE FIRST DECADE OF TITUS LIVIUS. Translated from the Italian by NINIAN HILL THOMSON, M.A. Large crown 8vo. cloth, price 12*s.*

THE PRINCE. Translated from the Italian by N. H. T. Small crown 8vo. printed on hand-made paper, cloth, bevelled boards, 6*s.*

MACKENZIE (*Alexander*)—HOW INDIA IS GOVERNED. Being an Account of England's work in India. Small crown 8vo. cloth, 2*s.*

MACNAUGHT (*Rev. John*)—CŒNA DOMINI: An Essay on the Lord's Supper, its Primitive Institution, Apostolic Uses, and Subsequent History. Demy 8vo. price 14*s.*

MACWALTER (*Rev. G. S.*)—LIFE OF ANTONIO ROSMINI SERBATI (Founder of the Institute of Charity). 2 vols. Demy 8vo. cloth.
[Vol. I. now ready, price 12*s.*

MAGNUS (*Mrs.*)—ABOUT THE JEWS SINCE BIBLE TIMES. From the Babylonian Exile till the English Exodus. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

MAIR (*R. S.*) *M.D., F.R.C.S.E.*—THE MEDICAL GUIDE FOR ANGLO-INDIANS. Being a Compendium of Advice to Europeans in India, relating to the Preservation and Regulation of Health. With a Supplement on the Management of Children in India. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. limp cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

MALDEN (*Henry Elliot*)—VIENNA, 1683. The History and Consequences of the Defeat of the Turks before Vienna, September 12, 1683, by John Sobieski, King of Poland, and Charles Leopold, Duke of Lorraine. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

MANY VOICES.—A Volume of Extracts from the Religious Writers of Christendom, from the First to the Sixteenth Century. With Biographical Sketches. Crown 8vo. cloth extra, red edges, price 6*s.*

MARKHAM (*Capt. Albert Hastings*) *R.N.*—THE GREAT FROZEN SEA: a Personal Narrative of the Voyage of the *Alert* during the Arctic Expedition of 1875–6. With Six Full-page Illustrations, Two Maps, and Twenty-seven Woodcuts. Sixth and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

A POLAR RECONNAISSANCE: being the Voyage of the *Isbjörn* to Novaya Zemlya in 1879. With 10 Illustrations. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 16*s.*

MARRIAGE AND MATERNITY; or, Scripture Wives and Mothers. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

MARTINEAU (*Gertrude*)—OUTLINE LESSONS ON MORALS. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

MAUDSLEY (*H.*) *M.D.*—BODY AND WILL. Being an Essay Concerning Will, in its Metaphysical, Physiological, and Pathological Aspects. 8vo. cloth, price 12*s.*

McGRATH (*Terence*)—PICTURES FROM IRELAND. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.*

MEREDITH (*M. A.*)—THEOTOKOS, THE EXAMPLE FOR WOMAN. Dedicated, by permission, to Lady AGNES WOOD. Revised by the Venerable Archdeacon DENISON. 32mo. limp cloth, 1*s.* 6*d.*

MILLER (*Edward*)—THE HISTORY AND DOCTRINES OF IRVINGISM; or, the so-called Catholic and Apostolic Church. 2 vols. Large post 8vo. price 25*s.*

THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO THE STATE. Large crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

MINCHIN (*J. G.*)—BULGARIA SINCE THE WAR: Notes of a Tour in the Autumn of 1879. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

MITFORD (*Bertram*)—THROUGH THE ZULU COUNTRY. Its Battlefields and its People. With five Illustrations. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 14*s.*

MIVART (*St. George*)—NATURE AND THOUGHT. An Introduction to a Natural Philosophy. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

MOCKLER (*E.*)—A GRAMMAR OF THE BALOOCHEE LANGUAGE, as it is spoken in Makran (Ancient Gedrosia), in the Persia-Arabic and Roman characters. Fcp. 8vo. price 5*s.*

MOLESWORTH (*W. Nassau*)—HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND FROM 1660. Large crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

MORELL (*J. R.*)—EUCLID SIMPLIFIED IN METHOD AND LANGUAGE. Being a Manual of Geometry. Compiled from the most important French Works, approved by the University of Paris and the Minister of Public Instruction. Fcp. 8vo. price 2*s.* 6*d.*

MORSE (*E. S.*) *Ph.D.*—FIRST BOOK OF ZOOLOGY. With numerous Illustrations. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. price 2*s.* 6*d.*

MURPHY (*J. N.*)—THE CHAIR OF PETER; or, the Papacy Considered in its Institution, Development, and Organization, and in the Benefits which for over Eighteen Centuries it has conferred on Mankind. Demy 8vo. cloth, 18*s.*

NELSON (*J. H.*) *M.A.*—A PROSPECTUS OF THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF THE HINDÛ LAW. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 9*s.*

NEWMAN (*J. H.*) *D.D.*—CHARACTERISTICS FROM THE WRITINGS OF. Being Selections from his various Works. Arranged with the Author's personal Approval. Sixth Edition. With Portrait. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

*** A Portrait of Cardinal Newman, mounted for framing, can be had, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

NEWMAN (*Francis William*)—ESSAYS ON DIET. Small crown 8vo. cloth limp, price 2*s.*

NEW WERTHER. By LOKI. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

NICHOLSON (*Edward Byron*)—THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS. Its Fragments Translated and Annotated with a Critical Analysis of the External and Internal Evidence relating to it. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 9*s.* 6*d.*

A NEW COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 12*s.*

NICOLS (*Arthur*) *F.G.S.*, *F.R.G.S.*—CHAPTERS FROM THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF THE EARTH: an Introduction to Geology and Palæontology. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

NOPS (*Marianne*)—CLASS LESSONS ON EUCLID. Part I. containing the First Two Books of the Elements. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

NOTES ON ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS. For Readers of the Authorised Version or the Original Greek. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

NUCES: EXERCISES ON THE SYNTAX OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL LATIN PRIMER. New Edition in Three Parts. Crown 8vo. each 1*s.*

*** The Three Parts can also be had bound together in cloth, price 3*s.*

OATES (*Frank*) *F.R.G.S.*—MATABELE LAND AND THE VICTORIA FALLS. A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Interior of South Africa. Edited by C. G. OATES, B.A. With numerous Illustrations and 4 Maps. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 21*s.*

OGLE (*W.*) *M.D., F.R.C.P.*—ARISTOTLE ON THE PARTS OF ANIMALS. Translated, with Introduction and Notes. Royal 8vo. cloth, 12*s.* 6*d.*

OKEN (*Lorenz*) *Life of.*—By ALEXANDER ECKER. With Explanatory Notes, Selections from Oken's Correspondence, and Portrait of the Professor. From the German by ALFRED TULK. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

O'MEARA (*Kathleen*)—FREDERIC OZANAM, Professor of the Sorbonne: his Life and Work. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

HENRI PERREYVE AND HIS COUNSELS TO THE SICK. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

OSBORNE (*Rev. W. A.*)—THE REVISED VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. A Critical Commentary, with Notes upon the Text. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

OTTLEY (*Henry Bickersteth*)—THE GREAT DILEMMA: Christ His own Witness or His own Accuser. Six Lectures. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS—ETON, HARROW, WINCHESTER, RUGBY, WESTMINSTER, MARLBOROUGH, THE CHARTERHOUSE. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

OWEN (*F. M.*)—JOHN KEATS: a Study. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

OWEN (*Rev. Robert*) *B.D.*—SANCTORALE CATHOLICUM; or, Book of Saints. With Notes, Critical, Exegetical, and Historical. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 18*s.*

OXENHAM (*Rev. F. Nutcombe*)—WHAT IS THE TRUTH AS TO EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT? Part II. Being an Historical Enquiry into the Witness and Weight of certain Anti-Origenist Councils. Crown 8vo. cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

OXONIENSIS—ROMANISM, PROTESTANTISM, ANGLICANISM. Being a Layman's View of some Questions of the Day. Together with Remarks on Dr. Littledale's 'Plain Reasons against Joining the Church of Rome.' Small crown 8vo. cloth, 3*s.* 6*d.*

PALMER (*the late William*)—NOTES OF A VISIT TO RUSSIA IN 1840–41. Selected and arranged by JOHN H. CARDINAL NEWMAN. With Portrait. Crown 8vo. cloth, 8*s.* 6*d.*

PARCHMENT LIBRARY. Choicely printed on hand-made paper, limp parchment antique, 6*s.*; vellum, 7*s.* 6*d.* each volume.

ENGLISH LYRICS.

THE SONNETS OF JOHN MILTON. Edited by MARK PATTISON. With Portrait after Vertue.

POEMS BY ALFRED TENNYSON. 2 vols. With Miniature Frontispieces by W. B. RICHMOND.

FRENCH LYRICS. Selected and Annotated by GEORGE SAINTSBURY. With miniature Frontispiece, designed and etched by H. G. Glindoni.

PARCHMENT LIBRARY—continued.

THE FABLES OF MR. JOHN GAY. With Memoir by AUSTIN DOBSON, and an etched Portrait from an unfinished Oil-sketch by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

SELECT LETTERS OF PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY. Edited, with an Introtion, by RICHARD GARNETT.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR; Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holy Days throughout the Year. With etched Portrait of the Rev. J. Keble, after the Drawing by G. Richmond, R.A.

SHAKSPERE'S WORKS. Complete in Twelve Volumes.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ESSAYS. Selected and Edited by AUSTIN DOBSON. With a Miniature Frontispiece by R. Caldecott.

Q. HORATI FLACCI OPERA. Edited by F. A. CORNISH, Assistant Master at Eton. With a Frontispiece after a design by L. ALMA TADEMA. Etched by LEOPOLD LOWENSTAM.

EDGAR ALLAN POE'S POEMS. With an Essay on his Poetry by ANDREW LANG, and a Frontispiece by Linley Sambourne.

SHAKSPERE'S SONNETS. Edited by EDWARD DOWDEN. With a Frontispiece etched by Leopold Lowenstam, after the Death Mask.

ENGLISH ODES. Selected by EDMUND W. GOSSE. With Frontispiece on India paper by Hamo Thornycroft, A.R.A.

OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. By THOMAS À KEMPIS. A revised Translation. With Frontispiece on India paper, from a Design by W. B. Richmond.

TENNYSON'S THE PRINCESS: a Medley. With a Miniature Frontispiece by H. M. Paget, and a Tailpiece in Outline by Gordon Browne.

POEMS: Selected from PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY. Dedicated to Lady Shelley. With Preface by RICHARD GARNET and a Miniature Frontispiece.

TENNYSON'S 'IN MEMORIAM.' With a Miniature Portrait in *eau-forte* by Le Rat, after a Photograph by the late Mrs. Cameron.

*** The above Volumes may also be had in a variety of leather bindings.

PARSLOE (*Joseph*) — OUR RAILWAYS. Sketches, Historical and Descriptive. With Practical Information as to Fares and Rates, &c., and a Chapter on Railway Reform. Crown 8vo. price 6*s*.

PAUL (*C. Kegan*)—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES. Printed on hand-made paper, bound in buckram. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. price 7*s*. 6*d*.

PAUL (*Alexander*)—SHORT PARLIAMENTS. A History of the National Demand for Frequent General Elections. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

PEARSON (*Rev. S.*)—WEEK-DAY LIVING. A Book for Young Men and Women. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 5*s*.

PENRICE (*Maj. J.*) *B.A.*—A DICTIONARY AND GLOSSARY OF THE KO-RAN. With Copious Grammatical References and Explanations of the Text. 4to. price 21*s*.

PESCHEL (*Dr. Oscar*)—THE RACES OF MAN AND THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION. Large crown 8vo. price 9*s*.

PETERS (*F. H.*)—THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS OF ARISTOTLE. Translated by. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s*.

PHIPSON (*E.*)—THE ANIMAL LORE OF SHAKSPEARE'S TIME. Including Quadrupeds, Birds, Reptiles, Fish, and Insects. Large post 8vo. cloth, price 9*s.*

PIDGEON (*D.*)—AN ENGINEER'S HOLIDAY; or, Notes of a Round Trip from Long. 0° to 0°. New and Cheaper Edition. Large crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

PRICE (*Prof. Bonamy*)—CURRENCY AND BANKING. Crown 8vo. Price 6*s.*

CHAPTERS ON PRACTICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY. Being the Substance of Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford. New and Cheaper Edition. Large post 8vo. price 5*s.*

PULPIT COMMENTARY (THE). Old Testament Series. Edited by the Rev. J. S. EXELL and the Rev. Canon H. D. M. SPENCE.

GENESIS. By Rev. T. WHITELAW, M.A. With Homilies by the Very Rev. J. F. MONTGOMERY, D.D., Rev. Prof. R. A. REDFORD, M.A., LL.B., Rev. F. HASTINGS, Rev. W. ROBERTS, M.A.; an Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament by the Venerable Archdeacon FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S.; and Introductions to the Pentateuch by the Right Rev. H. COTTERILL, D.D., and Rev. T. WHITELAW, M.A. Seventh Edition. One vol. price 15*s.*

EXODUS. By the Rev. GEORGE RAWLINSON. With Homilies by Rev. J. ORR, Rev. D. YOUNG, Rev. C. A. GOODHART, Rev. J. URQUHART, and Rev. H. T. ROBJOHNS. Third Edition. Two vols. price 18*s.*

LEVITICUS. By the Rev. Prebendary MEYRICK, M.A. With Introductions by Rev. R. COLLINS, Rev. Professor A. CAVE, and Homilies by Rev. Prof. REDFORD, LL.B., Rev. J. A. MACDONALD, Rev. W. CLARKSON, Rev. S. R. ALDRIDGE, LL.B., and Rev. MCCHEYNE EDGAR. Fourth Edition. Price 15*s.*

NUMBERS. By the Rev R. WINTERBOTHAM, LL.B. With Homilies by the Rev. Professor W. BINNIE, D.D., Rev. E. S. PROUT, M.A., Rev. D. YOUNG, Rev. J. WAITE; and an Introduction by the Rev. THOMAS WHITELAW, M.A. Fourth Edition. Price 15*s.*

DEUTERONOMY. By Rev. W. L. ALEXANDER, D.D. With Homilies by Rev. D. DAVIES, M.A., Rev. C. CLEMANCE, D.D., Rev. J. ORR, B.D., and Rev. R. M. EDGAR, M.A. Third Edition. Price 15*s.*

JOSHUA. By Rev. J. J. LIAS, M.A. With Homilies by Rev. S. R. ALDRIDGE, LL.B., Rev. R. GLOVER, Rev. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D., Rev. J. WAITE, B.A., Rev. F. W. ADENEY, M.A.; and an Introduction by the Rev. A. PLUMMER, M.A. Fifth Edition. Price 12*s.* 6*d.*

JUDGES AND RUTH. By the Bishop of Bath and Wells and Rev. J. MORRISON, D.D. With Homilies by Rev. A. F. MUIR, M.A., Rev. W. F. ADENEY, M.A., Rev. W. M. STATHAM, and Rev. Professor J. THOMSON, M.A. Fourth Edition. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

1 SAMUEL. By the Very Rev. R. P. SMITH, D.D. With Homilies by Rev. DONALD FRASER, D.D., Rev. Prof. CHAPMAN, and Rev. B. DALE. Sixth Edition. Price 15*s.*

1 KINGS. By the Rev. JOSEPH HAMMOND, LL.B. With Homilies by the Rev. E DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D., Rev. J. WAITE, B.A., Rev. A. ROWLAND, LL.B., Rev. J. A. MACDONALD, and Rev. J. URQUHART. Fourth Edition. Price 15*s.*

PULPIT COMMENTARY (THE). Old Testament Series—continued.

EZRA, NEHEMIAH, AND ESTHER. By Rev. Canon G. RAWLINSON M.A. With Homilies by Rev. Prof. J. R. THOMSON, M.A.; Rev. Prof. R. REDFORD, LL.B., M.A., Rev. W. S. LEWIS, M.A., Rev. J. A. MACDONALD Rev. A. MACKENNAL, B.A., Rev. W. CLARKSON, B.A., Rev. F. HASTING Rev. W. DINWIDDIE, LL.B., Rev. Prof. ROWLANDS, B.A., Rev. G. WOO B.A., Rev. Prof. P. C. BARKER, LL.B., M.A., and Rev. J. S. EXELL. Sec Edition. One vol. price 12*s.* 6*d.*

JEREMIAH. By the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A. With Homilies b the Rev. F. W. ADENEY, M.A., Rev. A. F. MUIR, M.A., Rev. S. CONWA B.A., Rev. J. WAITE, B.A., and Rev. D. YOUNG, B.A. Vol. I. Price 1

PULPIT COMMENTARY (THE). New Testament Series. Edited by t Rev. J. S. EXELL and the Rev. Canon H. D. M. SPENCE.

ST. MARK. By the Very Rev. E. BICKERSTETH, D.D., Dean Lichfield. With Homilies by the Rev. Prof. THOMSON, M.A., Rev. Pr GIVEN, M.A., Rev. Prof. JOHNSON, M.A., Rev. A. ROWLAND, LL.B., R A. MUIR, M.A., and Rev. R. GREEN. Third Edition. 2 Vols. 21*s.*

PUSEY (*Dr.*)—SERMONS FOR THE CHURCH'S SEASONS FROM ADVE TO TRINITY. Selected from the published Sermons of the late EDWA BOUVERIE PUSEY, D.D. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

QUILTER (*Harry*)—THE ACADEMY, 1872–1882.

RADCLIFFE (*Frank R. Y.*)—THE NEW POLITICUS. Small crown 8v Cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

REALITIES OF THE FUTURE LIFE. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

RENDELL (*J. M.*)—CONCISE HANDBOOK OF THE ISLAND OF MADEIR With Plan of Funchal and Map of the Island. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, 1*s.* 6*d.*

REYNOLDS (*Rev. J. W.*)—THE SUPERNATURAL IN NATURE. Verification by Free Use of Science. Third Edition, revised and enlarge Demy 8vo. cloth, price 14*s.*

THE MYSTERY OF MIRACLES. Third and Enlarged Edition. Cro 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

RIBOT (*Prof. Th.*)—HEREDITY: a Psychological Study on its Phenomen its Laws, its Causes, and its Consequences. Large crown 8vo. price 9*s.*

ROBERTSON (*The late Rev. F. W.*) *M.A.*—LIFE AND LETTERS O Edited by the Rev. Stopford Brooke, M.A.

I. Two vols., uniform with the Sermons. With Steel Portrait. Cro 8vo. price 7*s.* 6*d.*

II. Library Edition, in demy 8vo. with Portrait. Price 12*s.*

III. A Popular Edition, in 1 vol. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

SERMONS. Four Series. Small crown 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

THE HUMAN RACE, and other Sermons. Preached at Cheltenha Oxford, and Brighton. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. clo price 3*s.* 6*d.*

NOTES ON GENESIS. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. pri 3*s.* 6*d.*

ROBERTSON—continued.

EXPOSITORY LECTURES ON ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS. A New Edition. Small crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

LECTURES AND ADDRESSES, with other Literary Remains. A New Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

AN ANALYSIS OF MR. TENNYSON'S 'IN MEMORIAM.' (Dedicated by Permission to the Poet-Laureate.) Fcp. 8vo. price 2*s.*

THE EDUCATION OF THE HUMAN RACE. Translated from the German of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Fcp. 8vo. price 2*s.* 6*d.*

The above Works can also be had bound in half-morocco.

*** A Portrait of the late Rev. F. W. Robertson, mounted for framing, can be had, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

ROSMINI SERBATI (LIFE OF). By G. STUART MACWALTER. 2 vols. 8vo. [Vol. I. now ready, price 12*s.*

ROSMINI'S ORIGIN OF IDEAS. Translated from the Fifth Italian Edition of the Nuovo Saggio. *Sull' origine delle idee.* 3 vols. Demy 8vo. cloth. [Vols. I. and II. now ready, price 16*s.* each.

ROSMINI'S PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEM. Translated, with a Sketch of the Author's Life, Bibliography, Introduction, and Notes, by THOMAS DAVIDSON. Demy 8vo. cloth, 16*s.*

RULE (*Martin*) *M.A.*—THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ST. ANSELM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND PRIMATE OF THE BRITAINS. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. cloth, 32*s.*

SALVATOR (*Archduke Ludwig*)—LEVKOSIA, THE CAPITAL OF CYPRUS. Crown 4to. cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

SAMUEL (*Sydney M.*)—JEWISH LIFE IN THE EAST. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

SAYCE (*Rev. Archibald Henry*)—INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE. 2 vols. Second Edition. Large post 8vo. cloth, price 25*s.*

SCIENTIFIC LAYMAN. The New Truth and the Old Faith: are they Incompatible? Demy 8vo. cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

SCOONES (*W. Baptiste*)—FOUR CENTURIES OF ENGLISH LETTERS: A Selection of 350 Letters by 150 Writers, from the Period of the Paston Letters to the Present Time. Third Edition. Large crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

SHILLITO (*Rev. Joseph*)—WOMANHOOD: its Duties, Temptations, and Privileges. A Book for Young Women. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

SHIPLEY (*Rev. Orby*) *M.A.*—PRINCIPLES OF THE FAITH IN RELATION TO SIN. Topics for Thought in Times of Retreat. Eleven Addresses delivered during a Retreat of Three Days to Persons living in the World. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 12*s.*

SISTER AUGUSTINE, Superior of the Sisters of Charity at the St. Johannis Hospital at Bonn. Authorised Translation by HANS THARAU, from the German 'Memorials of AMALIE VON LASAULX.' Cheap Edition. Large crown 8vo. cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

SMITH (*Edward*) *M.D., LL.B., F.R.S.*—TUBERCULAR CONSUMPTION IN ITS EARLY AND REMEDIABLE STAGES. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

SPEDDING (*James*)—REVIEWS AND DISCUSSIONS, LITERARY, POLITICA AND HISTORICAL NOT RELATING TO BACON. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 12s. 6

EVENINGS WITH A REVIEWER; or, Bacon and Macaulay. With Prefatory Notice by G. S. VENABLES, Q.C. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 1

STAPFER (*Paul*)—SHAKSPEARE AND CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY: Greek a Latin Antiquity as presented in Shakspeare's Plays. Translated by EMILY CAREY. Large post 8vo. cloth, price 12s.

STEVENSON (*Rev. W. F.*)—HYMNS FOR THE CHURCH AND HOM Selected and Edited by the Rev. W. Fleming Stevenson.

The most complete Hymn Book published.

The Hymn Book consists of Three Parts:—I. For Public Worship. II. For Family and Private Worship.—III. For Children.

*** Published in various forms and prices, the latter ranging from 8d. to 6 Lists and full particulars will be furnished on application to the Publishe

STEVENSON (*Robert Louis*)—VIRGINIBUS PUERISQUE, and other Pape Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6s.

STRAY PAPERS ON EDUCATION AND SCENES FROM SCHOOL LIFE. By B. I Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3s. 6d.

STRECKER-WISLICENUS—ORGANIC CHEMISTRY. Translated an Edited, with Extensive Additions, by W. R. HODGKINSON, Ph.D., and A. GREENAWAY, F.I.C. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 21s.

SULLY (*James*) *M.A.*—PESSIMISM: a History and a Criticism. Secon Edition. Demy 8vo. price 14s.

SWEDENBORG (*Eman.*)—DE CULTU ET AMORE DEI, UBI AGITUR D TELLURIS ORTU, PARADISO ET VIVARIO, TUM DE PRIMOGENITI SEU ADA NATIVITATE, INFANTIA, ET AMORE. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6s.

SYME (*David*)—REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND: i Faults and Failures. Second Edition. Large crown 8vo. cloth, 6s.

TAYLOR (*Rev. Isaac*)—THE ALPHABET. An Account of the Orig and Development of Letters. With numerous Tables and Facsimiles. 2 vol Demy 8vo. cloth, price 36s.

THIRTY THOUSAND THOUGHTS. Edited by the Rev. Canon SPENC Rev. J. S. EXELL, Rev. CHARLES NEIL, and Rev. JACOB STEPHENSO 6 vols. Super-royal 8vo. cloth. [Vol. I. now ready, price 16s.

THOM (*John Hamilton*)—LAWS OF LIFE AFTER THE MIND OF CHRIS Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7s. 6d.

THOMSON (*J. Turnbull*)—SOCIAL PROBLEMS; OR, AN INQUIRY INT THE LAWS OF INFLUENCE. With Diagrams. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 10s. 6

TIDMAN (*Paul F.*)—GOLD AND SILVER MONEY. Part I.—A Plai Statement. Part II.—Objections Answered. Third Edition. Crown 8vo cloth, 1s.

TIPPLE (*Rev. S. A.*)—SUNDAY MORNINGS AT NORWOOD. Praye and Sermons. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6s.

TODHUNTER (*Dr. J.*)—A STUDY OF SHELLEY. Crown 8vo. clot price 7s.

TREMENHEERE (*H. Seymour*) *C.B.*—A MANUAL OF THE PRIN CIPLES OF GOVERNMENT AS SET FORTH BY THE AUTHORITIES OF ANCIEN AND MODERN TIMES. New and enlarged Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, 5s.

TUKE (*Daniel Hack*) *M.D.*—CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF THE INSANE IN THE BRITISH ISLES. With Four Illustrations. Large crown 8vo. cloth, 12*s.*

TWINING (*Louisa*)—WORKHOUSE VISITING AND MANAGEMENT DURING TWENTY-FIVE YEARS. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

TYLER (*J.*)—THE MYSTERY OF BEING; OR, WHAT DO WE KNOW? Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

UPTON (*Major R. D.*)—GLEANINGS FROM THE DESERT OF ARABIA. Large post 8vo. cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

VAUGHAN (*H. Halford*)—NEW READINGS AND RENDERINGS OF SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGEDIES. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 25*s.*

VIATOR (*Vacuus*)—FLYING SOUTH. Recollections of France and its Littoral. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

VILLARI (*Professor*)—NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI AND HIS TIMES. Translated by Linda Villari. 4 vols. Large crown 8vo. price 48*s.*

VILLIERS (*The Right Hon. C. P.*)—FREE TRADE SPEECHES OF. With Political Memoir. Edited by a Member of the Cobden Club. 2 vols. With Portrait. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 25*s.*

VOGT (*Lieut.-Col. Hermann*)—THE EGYPTIAN WAR OF 1882. A Translation. With Map and Plans. Large crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

VOLCKXSOM (*E. W. V.*)—CATECHISM OF ELEMENTARY MODERN CHEMISTRY. Small crown 8vo. cloth, 3*s.*

VYNER (*Lady Mary*)—EVERY DAY A PORTION. Adapted from the Bible and the Prayer Book, for the Private Devotions of those living in Widowhood. Collected and Edited by Lady Mary Vyner. Square crown 8vo. extra, price 5*s.*

WALDSTEIN (*Charles*) *Ph.D.*—THE BALANCE OF EMOTION AND INTELLECT; an Introductory Essay to the Study of Philosophy. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

WALLER (*Rev. C. B.*)—THE APOCALYPSE, reviewed under the Light of the Doctrine of the Unfolding Ages, and the Restitution of All Things. Demy 8vo. price 12*s.*

WALPOLE (*Chas. George*)—HISTORY OF IRELAND FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN. With 5 Maps and Appendices. Crown 8vo. cloth, 10*s.* 6*d.*

WALSHE (*Walter Hayle*) *M.D.*—DRAMATIC SINGING PHYSIOLOGICALLY ESTIMATED. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

WEDMORE (*Frederick*)—THE MASTERS OF GENRE PAINTING. With Sixteen Illustrations. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

WHEWELL (*William*) *D.D.*—HIS LIFE AND SELECTIONS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE. By Mrs. STAIR DOUGLAS. With a Portrait from a Painting by SAMUEL LAURENCE. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 21*s.*

WHITNEY (*Prof. William Dwight*)—ESSENTIALS OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR, for the Use of Schools. Crown 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

WILLIAMS (*Rowland*) *D.D.*—PSALMS, LITANIES, COUNSELS, AND COLLECTS FOR DEVOUT PERSONS. Edited by his Widow. New and Popular Edition. Crown 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

STRAY THOUGHTS COLLECTED FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE LATE ROWLAND WILLIAMS, D.D. Edited by his Widow. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

WILLIS (*R.*) *M.D.*—WILLIAM HARVEY. A History of the Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood: with a Portrait of Harvey after Faithorne. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 14*s.*

WILSON (*Sir Erasmus*)—EGYPT OF THE PAST. With Chromo-lithograph and numerous Illustrations in the text. Second Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 12*s.*

THE RECENT ARCHAIC DISCOVERY OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN MUMMIES AT THEBES. A Lecture. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

WILSON (*Lieut.-Col. C. T.*)—THE DUKE OF BERWICK, MARSHAL OF FRANCE, 1702–1734. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 15*s.*

WOLTMANN (*Dr. Alfred*), *and WOERMANN* (*Dr. Karl*)—HISTORY OF PAINTING. Edited by Sidney Colvin. Vol. I. Painting in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. With numerous Illustrations. Medium 8vo. cloth, price 28*s.*; bevelled boards, gilt leaves, price 30*s.*

WORD WAS MADE FLESH. Short Family Readings on the Epistles for each Sunday of the Christian Year. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

WREN (*Sir Christopher*)—HIS FAMILY AND HIS TIMES. With Original Letters, and a Discourse on Architecture hitherto unpublished. By LUCY PHILLIMORE. Demy 8vo. With Portrait. Price 14*s.*

YOUMANS (*Eliza A.*)—FIRST BOOK OF BOTANY. Designed to cultivate the Observing Powers of Children. With 300 Engravings. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. price 2*s.* 6*d.*

YOUMANS (*Edward L.*) *M.D.*—A CLASS BOOK OF CHEMISTRY, on the Basis of the New System. With 200 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC SERIES.

I. FORMS OF WATER: a Familiar Exposition of the Origin and Phenomena of Glaciers. By J. Tyndall, LL.D., F.R.S. With 25 Illustrations. Eighth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

II. PHYSICS AND POLITICS; or, Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of 'Natural Selection' and 'Inheritance' to Political Society. By Walter Bagehot. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 4*s.*

III. FOODS. By Edward Smith, M.D., LL.B., F.R.S. With numerous Illustrations. Eighth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

IV. MIND AND BODY: the Theories of their Relation. By Alexander Bain, LL.D. With Four Illustrations. Seventh Edition. Crown 8vo. price 4*s.*

V. THE STUDY OF SOCIOLOGY. By Herbert Spencer. Eleventh Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

VI. ON THE CONSERVATION OF ENERGY. By Balfour Stewart, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. With 14 Illustrations. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

VII. ANIMAL LOCOMOTION; or, Walking, Swimming, and Flying. By J. B. Pettigrew, M.D., F.R.S., &c. With 130 Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

VIII. RESPONSIBILITY IN MENTAL DISEASE. By Henry Maudsley, M.D. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

IX. THE NEW CHEMISTRY. By Professor J. P. Cooke. With 31 Illustrations. Seventh Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

X. THE SCIENCE OF LAW. By Professor Sheldon Amos. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

XI. ANIMAL MECHANISM: a Treatise on Terrestrial and Aërial Locomotion. By Professor E. J. Marey. With 117 Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

XII. THE DOCTRINE OF DESCENT AND DARWINISM. By Professor Oscar Schmidt. With 26 Illustrations. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

XIII. THE HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RELIGION AND SCIENCE. By J. W. Draper, M.D., LL.D. Seventeenth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

XIV. FUNGI: their Nature, Influences, Uses, &c. By M. C. Cooke, M.D., LL.D. Edited by the Rev. M. J. Berkeley, M.A., F.L.S. With numerous Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

XV. THE CHEMICAL EFFECTS OF LIGHT AND PHOTOGRAPHY. By Dr. Hermann Vogel. Translation thoroughly revised. With 100 Illustrations. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

XVI. THE LIFE AND GROWTH OF LANGUAGE. By Professor William Dwight Whitney. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

XVII. MONEY AND THE MECHANISM OF EXCHANGE. By W. Stanley Jevons, M.A., F.R.S. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

XVIII. THE NATURE OF LIGHT. With a General Account of Physical Optics. By Dr. Eugene Lommel. With 188 Illustrations and a Table of Spectra in Chromo-lithography. Third Edit. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

XIX. ANIMAL PARASITES AND MESS-MATES. By Monsieur Van Beneden. With 83 Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

XX. FERMENTATION. By Professor Schützenberger. With 28 Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

XXI. THE FIVE SENSES OF MAN. By Professor Bernstein. With 91 Illustrations. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

XXII. THE THEORY OF SOUND IN ITS RELATION TO MUSIC. By Professor Pietro Blaserna. With numerous Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

XXIII. STUDIES IN SPECTRUM ANALYSIS. By J. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S. With six Photographic Illustrations of Spectra, and numerous Engravings on Wood. Crown 8vo. Third Edition. Price 6*s.* 6*d.*

XXIV. A HISTORY OF THE GROWTH OF THE STEAM ENGINE. By Professor R. H. Thurston. With numerous Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.* 6*d.*

XXV. EDUCATION AS A SCIENCE. By Alexander Bain, LL.D. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XXVI. THE HUMAN SPECIES. By Prof. A. De Quatrefages. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XXVII. MODERN CHROMATICS. With Applications to Art and Industry. By Ogden N. Rood. With 130 original Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XXVIII. THE CRAYFISH: an Introduction to the Study of Zoology. By Professor T. H. Huxley. With 82 Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XXIX. THE BRAIN AS AN ORGAN OF MIND. By H. Charlton Bastian, M.D. With numerous Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XXX. THE ATOMIC THEORY. By Prof. Wurtz. Translated by G. Cleminshaw, F.C.S. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XXXI. THE NATURAL CONDITIONS OF EXISTENCE AS THEY AFFECT ANIMAL LIFE. By Karl Semper. With 2 Maps and 106 Woodcuts. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XXXII. GENERAL PHYSIOLOGY OF MUSCLES AND NERVES. By Prof. J. Rosenthal. Third Edition. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XXXIII. SIGHT: an Exposition of the Principles of Monocular and Binocular Vision. By Joseph Le Conte, LL.D. Second Edition. With 132 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XXXIV. ILLUSIONS: a Psychological Study. By James Sully. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XXXV. VOLCANOES: WHAT THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY TEACH. By Professor J. W. Judd, F.R.S. With 92 Illustrations on Wood. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XXXVI. SUICIDE: an Essay in parative Moral Statistics. E E. Morselli. Second Edition. Diagrams. Crown 8vo. clotl 5*s.*

XXXVII. THE BRAIN AND ITS TIONS. By J. Luys. Second I With Illustrations. Crown 8vc price 5*s.*

XXXVIII. MYTH AND SCIEN Essay. By Tito Vignoli. 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XXXIX. THE SUN. By Professor With Illustrations. Second I Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XL. ANTS, BEES, AND WASPS: a of Observations on the Habits Social Hymenoptera. By Si Lubbock, Bart., M.P. With 5 C lithographic Illustrations. Sixt Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XLI. ANIMAL INTELLIGENCE. E Romanes, LL.D., F.R.S. Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, p

XLII. THE CONCEPTS AND THEO MODERN PHYSICS. By J. B. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. price 5*s.*

XLIII. DISEASES OF MEMORY: a in the Positive Pyschology. E Th. Ribot. Second Edition. 8vo. 5*s.*

XLIV. MAN BEFORE METALS. Joly. Third Edition. Crow cloth, price 5*s.*

XLV. THE SCIENCE OF POLITIC Prof. Sheldon Amos. Secon Crown. 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XLVI. ELEMENTARY METEOR By Robert H. Scott. Second E With numerous Illustrations. 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

XLVII. THE ORGANS OF SPEEC THEIR APPLICATION IN THE MATION OF ARTICULATE S By Georg Hermann von With 47 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo price 5*s.*

XLVIII. FALLACIES: a View of from the Practical Side. By Sidgwick. Crown 8vo. cloth.

MILITARY WORKS.

BARRINGTON (*Capt. J. T.*)—ENGLAND ON THE DEFENSIVE; or, the Problem of Invasion Critically Examined. Large crown 8vo. with Map, cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

BRACKENBURY (*Col. C. B.*) *R.A., C.B.*—MILITARY HANDBOOKS FOR REGIMENTAL OFFICERS:

I. MILITARY SKETCHING AND RECONNAISSANCE. By Colonel F. J. Hutchison and Major H. G. MacGregor. Fourth Edition. With 15 Plates. Small 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

II. THE ELEMENTS OF MODERN TACTICS PRACTICALLY APPLIED TO ENGLISH FORMATIONS. By Lieut.-Col. Wilkinson Shaw. Fourth Edit. With 25 Plates and Maps. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 9*s.*

III. FIELD ARTILLERY: its Equipment, Organisation, and Tactics. By Major Sisson C. Pratt, R.A. With 12 Plates. Second Edition. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

IV. THE ELEMENTS OF MILITARY ADMINISTRATION. First Part: Permanent System of Administration. By Major J. W. Buxton. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

V. MILITARY LAW: its Procedure and Practice. By Major Sisson C. Pratt, R.A. Small crown 8vo.

BROOKE (*Major C. K.*)—A SYSTEM OF FIELD TRAINING. Small crown 8vo. cloth limp, price 2*s.*

CLERY (*C.*) *Lieut.-Col.*—MINOR TACTICS. With 26 Maps and Plans. Sixth and cheaper Edition, revised. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 9*s.*

COLVILLE (*Lieut.-Col. C. F.*)—MILITARY TRIBUNALS. Sewed, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

HARRISON (*Lieut.-Col. R.*) — THE OFFICER'S MEMORANDUM BOOK FOR PEACE AND WAR. Third Edition. Oblong 32mo. roan, with pencil, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

NOTES ON CAVALRY TACTICS, ORGANISATION, &c. By a Cavalry Officer. With Diagrams. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 12*s.*

PARR (*Capt. H. Hallam*) *C.M.G.*—THE DRESS, HORSES, AND EQUIPMENT OF INFANTRY AND STAFF OFFICERS. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 1*s.*

SCHAW (*Col. H.*)—THE DEFENCE AND ATTACK OF POSITIONS AND LOCALITIES. Second Edition, revised and corrected. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

SHADWELL (*Maj.-Gen.*) *C.B.*—MOUNTAIN WARFARE. Illustrated by the Campaign of 1799 in Switzerland. Being a Translation of the Swiss Narrative compiled from the Works of the Archduke Charles, Jomini, and others. Also of Notes by General H. Dufour on the Campaign of the Valtelline in 1635. With Appendix, Maps, and Introductory Remarks. Demy 8vo. price 16*s.*

STUBBS (*Lieut.-Col. F. W.*) — THE REGIMENT OF BENGAL ARTILLERY: the History of its Organisation, Equipment, and War Services. Compiled from Published Works, Official Records, and various Private Sources. With numerous Maps and Illustrations. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. price 32*s.*

POETRY.

ADAM OF ST. VICTOR—THE LITURGICAL POETRY OF ADAM OF ST. VICTOR. From the text of Gautier. With Translations into English in the Original Metres, and Short Explanatory Notes. By Digby S. Wrangham, M.A. 3 vols. Crown 8vo. printed on hand-made paper, boards, price 21*s.*

AUCHMUTY (*A. C.*)—POEMS OF ENGLISH HEROISM: From Brunanburgh to Lucknow; from Athelstan to Albert. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

AVIA—THE ODYSSEY OF HOMER. Done into English Verse by. Fcp. 4to. cloth, price 15*s.*

BANKS (*Mrs. G. L.*)—RIPPLES AND BREAKERS: Poems. Square 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

BARNES (*William*)—POEMS OF RURAL LIFE, IN THE DORSET DIALECT. New Edition, complete in one vol. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 8*s.* 6*d.*

BAYNES (*Rev. Canon H. R.*)—HOME SONGS FOR QUIET HOURS. Fourth and cheaper Edition. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

*** This may also be had handsomely bound in morocco with gilt edges.

BENNETT (*C. F.*)—LIFE THOUGHTS. A New Volume of Poems. With Frontispiece. Small crown 8vo. cloth.

BEVINGTON (*L. S.*)—KEY NOTES. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

BILLSON (*C. J.*)—THE ACHARNIANS OF ARISTOPHANES. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

BOWEN (*H. C.*) *M.A.*—SIMPLE ENGLISH POEMS. English Literature for Junior Classes. In Four Parts. Parts I. II. and III. price 6*d.* each, and Part IV. price 1*s.*

BRYANT (*W. C.*)—POEMS. Red-line Edition. With 24 Illustrations and Portrait of the Author. Crown 8vo. cloth extra, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

A Cheap Edition, with Frontispiece. Small crown 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

BYRNNE (*E. Fairfax*)—MILICENT: a Poem. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

CALDERON'S DRAMAS: the Wonder-working Magician—Life is a Dream—the Purgatory of St. Patrick. Translated by Denis Florence MacCarthy. Post 8vo. price 10*s.*

CASTILIAN BROTHERS (*The*)—CHATEAUBRIANT, WALDEMAR, THREE TRAGEDIES, AND THE ROSE OF SICILY. A Drama. By the Author of 'Ginevra,' &c. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

CHRONICLES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS: a Poem in Twelve Cantos. By M. D. C. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

CLARKE (*Mary Cowden*)—HONEY FROM THE WEED. Verses. Crown 8vo. cloth, 7*s.*

COLOMB (*Colonel*)—THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP: a Spanish Legend. In 29 Cancions. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

CONWAY (*Hugh*)—A LIFE'S IDYLLS. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

COPPÉE (*François*)—L'EXILÉE. Done into English Verse, with the sanction of the Author, by I. O. L. Crown 8vo. vellum, price 5*s.*

COXHEAD (*Ethel*)—BIRDS AND BABIES. Imp. 16mo. With 33 Illustrations. Cloth gilt, 2*s.* 6*d.*

DAVID RIZZIO, BOTHWELL, AND THE WITCH LADY. Three Tragedies. By the Author of 'Ginevra,' &c. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6*s.*

DAVIE (*G. S.*) *M.D.*—THE GARDEN OF FRAGRANCE. Being a complete Translation of the Bóstan of Sádi, from the original Persian into English Verse. Crown 8vo. cloth, 7*s.* 6*d.*

DAVIES (*T. Hart*)—CATULLUS. Translated into English Verse. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

DE VERE (*Aubrey*)—THE FORAY OF QUEEN MEAVE, and other Legends of Ireland's Heroic Age. Small crown 8vo. cloth, 5*s.*

LEGENDS OF THE SAXON SAINTS. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

DILLON (*Arthur*)—RIVER SONGS and other Poems. With 13 Autotype Illustrations from designs by Margery May. Fcp. 4to. cloth extra, gilt leaves, 10*s.* 6*d.*

DOBELL (*Mrs. Horace*)—ETHELSTONE, EVELINE, and other Poems. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6*s.*

DOBSON (*Austin*)—OLD WORLD IDYLLS, and other Poems. 18mo. cloth, extra gilt.

DOMET (*Alfred*)—RANOLF AND AMOHIA: a Dream of Two Lives. New Edition revised. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 12*s.*

DOROTHY: a Country Story in Elegiac Verse. With Preface. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

DOWDEN (*Edward*) *LL.D.*—SHAKSPERE'S SONNETS. With Introduction. Large post 8vo. cloth, price 7*s*. 6*d*.

DOWNTON (*Rev. H.*) *M.A.*—HYMNS AND VERSES. Original and Translated. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

DUTT (*Toru*)—A SHEAF GLEANED IN FRENCH FIELDS. New Edition. Demy 8vo. cloth, 10*s*. 6*d*.

EDMONDS (*E. W.*)—HESPERAS. Rhythm and Rhyme. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 4*s*.

ELDRYTH (*Maud*)—MARGARET, and other Poems. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

ELLIOT (*Lady Charlotte*)—MEDUSA, and other Poems. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s*.

ELLIOTT (*Ebenezer*), *The Corn Law Rhymer*—POEMS. Edited by his Son, the Rev. Edwin Elliott, of St. John's, Antigua. 2 vols. crown 8vo. price 18*s*.

ENGLISH ODES. Selected, with a Critical Introduction by EDMUND W. GOSSE, and a miniature Frontispiece by Hamo Thornycroft, A.R.A. Elzevir 8vo. limp parchment antique, price 6*s*.; vellum, 7*s*. 6*d*.

EVANS (*Anne*)—POEMS AND MUSIC. With Memorial Preface by ANN THACKERAY RITCHIE. Large crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s*.

GOSSE (*Edmund W.*)—NEW POEMS. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s*. 6*d*.

GRAHAM (*William*)—TWO FANCIES, and other Poems. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

GRINDROD (*Charles*)—PLAYS FROM ENGLISH HISTORY. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s*. 6*d*.

GURNEY (*Rev. Alfred*)—THE VISION OF THE EUCHARIST, and other Poems. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

HELLON (*H. G.*)—DAPHNIS: a Pastoral Poem. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

HERMAN WALDGRAVE: a Life's Drama. By the Author of 'Ginevra,' &c. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6*s*.

HICKEY (*E. H.*)—A SCULPTOR, and other Poems. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

INGHAM (*Sarson C. J.*)—CÆDMON'S VISION, and other Poems. Small crown 8vo. cloth, 5*s*.

JENKINS (*Rev. Canon*)—ALFONSO PETRUCCI, Cardinal and Conspirator: an Historical Tragedy in Five Acts. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

KING (*Edward*)—ECHOES FROM THE ORIENT. With Miscellaneous Poems. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

KING (*Mrs. Hamilton*)—THE DISCIPLES. Fifth Edition, with Portrait and Notes. Crown 8vo. price 5*s*.

A BOOK OF DREAMS. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

LANG (*A.*)—XXXII BALLADES IN BLUE CHINA. Elzevir 8vo. parchment, price 5*s*.

LAWSON (*Right Hon. Mr. Justice*)—HYMNI USITATI LATINE REDDITI, with other Verses. Small 8vo. parchment, price 5*s*.

LEIGH (*Arran and Isla*)—BELLEROPHÔN. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

LEIGHTON (*Robert*)—RECORDS AND OTHER POEMS. With Portrait. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s*. 6*d*.

LESSING'S NATHAN THE WISE. Translated by Eustace K. Corbett. Crown 8vo. cloth. 6*s*.

LIVING ENGLISH POETS. MDCCCLXXXII. With Frontispiece by Walter Crane. Second Edition. Large crown 8vo. printed on hand-made paper. Parchment, 12*s*.; vellum, 15*s*.

LOCKER (*F.*)—LONDON LYRICS. A Cheap Edition, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

LOVE IN IDLENESS. A Volume of Poems. With an etching by W. B. Scott. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

LOVE SONNETS OF PROTEUS. With Frontispiece by the Author. Elzevir 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

LOWNDES (*Henry*) — POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6*s*.

LUMSDEN (*Lieut.-Col. H. W.*)—BEOWULF: an Old English Poem. Translated into Modern Rhymes. Second and revised Edition. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

LYRE AND STAR. Poems by the Author of 'Ginevra,' &c. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

MACLEAN (*Charles Donald*)—LATIN AND GREEK VERSE TRANSLATIONS. Small crown 8vo. cloth, 2*s*.

MAGNUSSON (*Eirikr*) *M.A., and PALMER* (*E. H.*) *M.A.*—JOHAN LUDVIG RUNEBERG'S LYRICAL SONGS, IDYLLS, AND EPIGRAMS. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

MDC. Chronicles of Christopher Columbus. A Poem in Twelve Cantos. Small crown 8vo. cloth, 7*s*. 6*d*.

MEREDITH (*Owen*) [*The Earl of Lytton*] LUCILE. With 32 Illustrations. 16mo. cloth, price 3*s*. 6*d*.; cloth extra, gilt edges, price 4*s*. 6*d*.

MIDDLETON (*The Lady*)—BALLADS. Square 16mo. cloth, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

MORICE (*Rev. F. D.*) *M.A.* — THE OLYMPIAN AND PYTHIAN ODES OF PINDAR. A New Translation in English Verse. Crown 8vo. price 7*s*. 6*d*.

MORRIS (*Lewis*) — POETICAL WORKS. Vol. I. contains Songs of Two Worlds. Vol. II. contains The Epic of Hades. Vol. III. contains Gwen and the Ode of Life. New and Cheaper Editions, with Portrait, complete in 3 vols. 5*s*. each.

THE EPIC OF HADES. With 16 Autotype Illustrations after the drawings by the late George R. Chapman. 4to. cloth extra, gilt leaves, price 21*s*.

THE EPIC OF HADES. Presentation Edition. 4to. cloth extra, gilt leaves, price 10*s*. 6*d*.

DAY AND NIGHT. A Volume of Verses. Fcp. 8vo.

MORSHEAD (*E. D. A.*)—THE HOUSE ATREUS. Being the Agamemnon, Libation-Bearers, and Furies of Æschylus. Translated into English Verse. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s*.

THE SUPPLIANT MAIDENS OF ÆSCHYLUS. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

NADEN (*Constance W.*)—SONGS AND SONNETS OF SPRING TIME. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

NEWELL (*E. J.*)—THE SORROW OF SIMONA, and Lyrical Verses. Small crown 8vo. cloth, 3*s*. 6*d*.

NOAKE (*Major R. Compton*) — THE BIVOUAC; or, Martial Lyrist. With an Appendix: Advice to the Soldier. Fcp. 8vo. price 5*s*. 6*d*.

NOEL (*The Hon. Roden*)—A LITTLE CHILD'S MONUMENT. Second Edition. Small crown 8vo. cloth, 3*s*. 6*d*.

NORRIS (*Rev. Alfred*) — THE INNER AND OUTER LIFE. Poems. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, price 6*s*.

ODE OF LIFE (THE). By the Author of 'The Epic of Hades,' &c. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

O'HAGAN (*John*) — THE SONG OF ROLAND. Translated into English Verse. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

PFEIFFER (*Emily*)—GLAN ALARCH: his Silence and Song. A Poem. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. price 6*s*.

GERARD'S MONUMENT, and other Poems. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s*.

QUARTERMAN'S GRACE, and other Poems. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

POEMS. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s*.

SONNETS AND SONGS. New Edition. 16mo. handsomely printed and bound in cloth, gilt edges, price 4*s*.

UNDER THE ASPENS: Lyrical and Dramatic. Crown 8vo. with Portrait, cloth, price 6*s*.

PIKE (*Warburton*)—THE INFERNO OF DANTE ALIGHIERI. Demy 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

RARE POEMS OF THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES. Edited by W. J. Linton. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

RHOADES (*James*)—THE GEORGICS OF VIRGIL. Translated into English Verse. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*.

ROBINSON (*A. Mary F.*)—A HANDFUL OF HONEYSUCKLE. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE CROWNED HIPPOLYTUS. Translated from Euripides. With New Poems. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

SAUNDERS (*John*)—LOVE'S MARTYRDOM: a Play and Poem. Small crown 8vo. cloth, 5*s.*

SCHILLER'S MARY STUART. German Text with English Translation on opposite page. By Leedham White. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6*s.*

SCOTT (*George F. E.*)—THEODORA, and other Poems. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

SELKIRK (*J. B.*)—POEMS. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

SHAW (*W. F.*) *M.A.*—JUVENAL, PERSIUS, MARTIAL, AND CATULLUS: an Experiment in Translation. Crown 8vo. cloth, 5*s.*

SHELLEY (*Percy Bysshe*) — POEMS SELECTED FROM. Dedicated to Lady Shelley. With Preface by Richard Garnett. Printed on hand-made paper, with miniature Frontispiece, Elzevir 8vo. limp parchment antique, price 6*s.*; vellum, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

SIX BALLADS ABOUT KING ARTHUR. Crown 8vo. cloth extra, gilt edges, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

SLADEN (*Douglas B. W.*)—FRITHJOF AND INGEBJORG, and other Poems. Small crown 8vo. cloth, 5*s.*

SOPHOCLES: The Seven Plays in English Verse. Translated by Lewis Campbell. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

TAYLOR (*Sir H.*)—Works Complete in Five Volumes. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 30*s.*

PHILIP VAN ARTEVELDE. Fcp. 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE VIRGIN WIDOW, &c. Fcp. 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE STATESMAN. Fcp. 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

TENNYSON (*Alfred*) — Works Complete:

THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY EDITION. Complete in 7 vols. Demy 8vo. price 10*s.* 6*d.* each; in Roxburgh binding, 12*s.* 6*d.* each.

AUTHOR'S EDITION. In 7 vols. Post 8vo. cloth gilt, 43*s.* 6*d.*; or half-morocco, Roxburgh style, price 54*s.*

CABINET EDITION. 13 vols. Each with Frontispiece. Fcp. 8vo. price 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

CABINET EDITION. 13 vols. Complete in handsome Ornamental Case, 35*s.*

THE ROYAL EDITION. In 1 vol. With 26 Illustrations and Portrait. Cloth extra, bevelled boards, gilt leaves, price 21*s.*

THE GUINEA EDITION. Complete in 13 vols. neatly bound and enclosed in box. Cloth, price 21*s.*; French morocco or parchment, price 31*s.* 6*d.*

SHILLING EDITION. In 13 vols. pocket size, 1*s.* each, sewed.

THE CROWN EDITION. Complete in 1 vol. strongly bound in cloth, price 6*s.*; cloth, extra gilt leaves, price 7*s.* 6*d.*; Roxburgh, half-morocco, price 8*s.* 6*d.*

*** Can also be had in a variety of other bindings.

Original Editions:—

POEMS. Small 8vo. price 6*s.*

MAUD, and other Poems. Small 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE PRINCESS. Small 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

IDYLLS OF THE KING. Small 8vo. price 5*s.*

IDYLLS OF THE KING. Complete. Small 8vo. price 6*s.*

THE HOLY GRAIL, and other Poems. Small 8vo. price 4*s.* 6*d.*

GARETH AND LYNETTE. Small 8vo. price 3*s.*

TENNYSON (*Alfred*)—continued.

ENOCH ARDEN, &c. Small 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

IN MEMORIAM. Small 8vo. price 4*s.*

HAROLD: a Drama. New Edition. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

QUEEN MARY: a Drama. New Edition. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

THE LOVER'S TALE. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, 3*s.* 6*d.*

BALLADS, and other Poems. Small 8vo. cloth, price 5*s*

SELECTIONS FROM THE ABOVE WORKS. Super-royal 16mo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*; cloth gilt extra, price 4*s.*

SONGS FROM THE ABOVE WORKS. 16mo. cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

TENNYSON FOR THE YOUNG AND FOR RECITATION. Specially arranged. Fcp. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE TENNYSON BIRTHDAY BOOK. Edited by Emily Shakespear. 32mo. cloth limp, 2*s.*; cloth extra, 3*s.*

*** A superior Edition, printed in red and black, on antique paper, specially prepared. Small crown 8vo. cloth, extra gilt leaves, price 5*s.*; and in various calf and morocco bindings.

THORNTON (*L. M.*)—THE SON OF SHELOMITH. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

TODHUNTER (*Dr. J.*)—LAURELLA, and other Poems. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

FOREST SONGS. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE TRUE TRAGEDY OF RIENZI: a Drama. Cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

TODHUNTER—continued.

ALCESTIS: a Dramatic Poem. Extra fcp. 8vo. cloth, price 5*s.*

A STUDY OF SHELLEY. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.*

TRANSLATIONS FROM DANTE, PETRARCH, MICHAEL ANGELO, AND VITTORIA COLONNA. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

TURNER (*Rev. C. Tennyson*)—SONNETS, LYRICS, AND TRANSLATIONS. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

COLLECTED SONNETS, Old and New. With Prefatory Poem by ALFRED TENNYSON; also some Marginal Notes by S. T. COLERIDGE, and a Critical Essay by JAMES SPEDDING. Fcp. 8vo cloth, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

WALTERS (*Sophia Lydia*)—A DREAMER'S SKETCH BOOK. With 21 Illustrations by Percival Skelton, R. P. Leitch, W. H. J. Boot, and T. R. Pritchett. Engraved by J. D. Cooper. Fcp. 4to. cloth, price 12*s.* 6*d.*

WEBSTER (*Augusta*)—IN A DAY: a Drama. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

WET DAYS. By a Farmer. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

WILKINS (*William*)—SONGS OF STUDY. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

WILLIAMS (*J.*)—A STORY OF THREE YEARS, and other Poems. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

YOUNGS (*Ella Sharpe*)—PAPHUS, and other Poems. Small crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

WORKS OF FICTION IN ONE VOLUME.

BANKS (*Mrs. G. L.*)—GOD'S PROVIDENCE HOUSE. New Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

HARDY (*Thomas*)—A PAIR OF BLUE EYES. Author of 'Far from the Madding Crowd.' New Edition. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

HARDY (*Thomas*)—continued.

THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE. New Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

INGELOW (*Jean*)—OFF THE SKELLIGS. A Novel. With Frontispiece. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

MACDONALD (*G.*)—CASTLE WARLOCK. A Novel. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

MALCOLM. With Portrait of the Author engraved on Steel. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

THE MARQUIS OF LOSSIE. Fourth Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

ST. GEORGE AND ST. MICHAEL. Third Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. cloth, 6*s.*

PALGRAVE (*W. Gifford*)—HERMANN AGHA: an Eastern Narrative. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

SHAW (*Flora L.*)—CASTLE BLAIR; a Story of Youthful Days. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

STRETTON (*Hesba*) — THROUGH A NEEDLE'S EYE. A Story. New and Cheaper Edition, with Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

TAYLOR (*Col. Meadows*) *C.S.I., M.R.I.A.*

SEETA. A Novel. New and Cheaper Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

TIPPOO SULTAUN: a Tale of the Mysore War. New Edition, with Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

RALPH DARNELL. New and Cheaper Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

A NOBLE QUEEN. New and Cheaper Edition. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

THE CONFESSIONS OF A THUG. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

TARA: a Mahratta Tale. Crown 8vo. price 6*s.*

WITHIN SOUND OF THE SEA. New and Cheaper Edition, with Frontispiece. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 6*s.*

BOOKS FOR THE YOUNG.

BRAVE MEN'S FOOTSTEPS. A Book of Example and Anecdote for Young People. By the Editor of 'Men who have Risen.' With Four Illustrations by C. Doyle. Eighth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

COXHEAD (*Ethel*)—BIRDS AND BABIES. With 33 Illustrations. Imp. 16mo. cloth gilt, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

DAVIES (*G. Christopher*) — RAMBLES AND ADVENTURES OF OUR SCHOOL FIELD CLUB. With Four Illustrations. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

EDMONDS (*Herbert*) — WELL-SPENT LIVES: a Series of Modern Biographies. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

EVANS (*Mark*)—THE STORY OF OUR FATHER'S LOVE, told to Children. Fourth and Cheaper Edition of Theology for Children. With Four Illustrations. Fcp. 8vo. price 1*s.* 6*d.*

JOHNSON (*Virginia W.*)—THE CATSKILL FAIRIES. Illustrated by ALFRED FREDERICKS. Cloth, price 5*s.*

MAC KENNA (*S. J.*)—PLUCKY FELLOWS. A Book for Boys. With Six Illustrations. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

REANEY (*Mrs. G. S.*)—WAKING AND WORKING; or, From Girlhood to Womanhood. New and Cheaper Edition. With a Frontispiece. Cr. 8vo. price 3*s.* 6*d.*

BLESSING AND BLESSED: a Sketch of Girl Life. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

ROSE GURNEY'S DISCOVERY. A Book for Girls. Dedicated to their Mothers. Crown 8vo. cloth, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

ENGLISH GIRLS: Their Place and Power. With Preface by the Rev. R. W. Dale. Fourth Edition. Fcp. 8vo. cloth, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

LOWSHIP. . . .)—A JOLLY
Crown 8vo. cloth, price 5s.